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**The Introduction of the Viol into Sixteenth-Century France:
Perspectives on the Cultural Integration of Musical Instruments**

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PhD

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2014

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work

Emily Peppers

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the introduction and development of a musical instrument, the viola da gamba (viol), in sixteenth-century France by articulating the wider cultural consequences of introducing new musical instruments from one culture to another. The research examines cultural exchange with foreign courts, the effects of patronage, social perceptions and changing attitudes during the introduction of the viol into France. Using the viol as a focal point to explore Renaissance material culture, this thesis is an interdisciplinary study into music, art, language and terminology, foreign connections and cultural interaction.

Each chapter focuses on a different aspect of the viol's introduction, development and establishment into sixteenth-century France. Rare archival sources, visual media and printed books never before connected to the viol have been identified and analysed to construct a detailed framework of the social, artistic and musical culture within which the viol was used. The five chapters explore professional viol use in the royal court and regional areas, artistic representations of the viol, triumphal entries and festivals, the changing role of viol players from professional to amateur and the viol in sixteenth-century instrument making. The appendices include a catalogue of images depicting the viol in French visual media, identifying allegorical and religious associations, making foreign connections, exploring methods of artistic creation and analysing physical depictions.

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Acknowledgements

Many people and organisations supported me throughout the process of researching, writing and preparing this dissertation. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Darryl Martin and Dr Thomas Tolley, who have supported, inspired and challenged me to make this dissertation the best it could possibly be. I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for awarding me with a Doctoral Grant and funding essential fieldwork in France. Thanks to Professor Peter Nelson, Professor Arnold Myers, Professor Murray Campbell, Dr Patsy Campbell and the Music department for their support and the funding of numerous research trips to France. I would like to thank The Friends of St Cecilia's Hall and Museum for awarding me with Early Music Bursaries. I would like to thank my internal and external examiners, Dr John Kitchen and Professor Jeanice Brooks. Thanks go to Jacky MacBeath, Jill Forrest and my colleagues in the University's Museums and Collections. Thanks to Kirsty Woomble and Janet Edwards of the University of Edinburgh. I would like to thank Dr Cristina Diego-Pacheco for assistance in transcription and her willingness to share her expert knowledge of archival documents in Nancy, Professor Philip Bennett for assistance in transcription, as well as the staff of the Archives nationales in Paris and the Archives départementales across France. A big thank you goes to Lesley Pearson, my friend and technological guru!

To my family I thank you for your love and support on the long road to becoming a 'Dr Pepper', and to my mom, Brenda Peppers for proof-reading and instilling a sense of wonder and joy into my experience of the arts. To Patricia Kelly, for developing an interest in music and culture at an early age. I would like to thank Dr Laura Fernandez-Gonzalez, Dr Josephine Yannacopoulou and Ben Hebbert for their numerous discussions and inspiration, also Emma Duncan, Sarah Deters, Jonathan Santa Maria Bouquet and Dr Heike Fricke. Thanks go to Justin Maxwell for his interest and support through the early years of this thesis. I would like to thank Chris Cooper and my wonderful friends for unfailing support through difficult times during the submission of this dissertation.

Dating, monetary units, transcriptions and translations

Dating

The calendar year for much of the sixteenth century follows the Julian calendar, which begins each new year the Monday after Easter Sunday. The date Easter falls upon each year varies, making the start of each calendar year different during this period. In order to make this distinction, the phrase ‘avant Pasques’, or ‘before Easter’ was often added to a recorded date. A common method of designating that a date that fell in the period after 31 December and before Easter of the following year was to give the year as 1545/46. I have adopted the style where the year is given with the signifier n.st., meaning ‘new style’.

Thus, a date written as 10 February 1545 in an archival document that actually occurred after December 1545 is given in this thesis as 10 February 1546 n.st. This style of dating acknowledges the original dating while giving the reader a better understanding of events in a linear chronology.

Monetary units

The main currencies encountered in this dissertation are those of the royal currency of France, and the more local currency found in the duchy of Lorraine. In general, the main currency for payment records is the *livre*, also designated the *livre tournois*. Sub-denominations of the *livre* were the *sol*, for which there were twenty sols to the *livre*, and *denier*, for which there were twelve deniers to the *sol* and 240 to the *livre*. From 1578 monetary units were measured against the *écu d’or*, worth three *livres*.¹ In the

¹ Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 393.

duchy of Lorraine, ‘fran’ was a term used to signify the local currency of *franc Lorraine*, which was at that time equivalent to .8 of the livre tournois.²

Transcriptions

In the transcriptions of archival documents or from printed books of the period, I have not made an attempt to modernise spellings, add accents or punctuation. Where a word is unknown in a transcription, I have used an underline to highlight where the missing word (or words) fits within the text. I have also directly transcribed dates, including the use of superscript, such as v^c to denote 500, or vi^{xx} to denote 120. Where a transcription has been taken from a secondary source, I have kept the cited text in the style the author has chosen.

Shorthand for monetary units in archival documents have also been transcribed directly, for instance ‘l’ or ‘L’ for *livre*, ‘s tz’ or similar for *sol tournois*, ‘fr’ or ‘fran’ for *franc Lorraine*.

Translations

All translations in this dissertation from other languages are my own, unless specifically noted in the text or footnotes.

² Richard Freedman, ‘Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), xii.

Introduction

The main focus of this PhD thesis is the introduction, establishment and development of the viol in France during the sixteenth century. How did it arrive in France, where was it initially played? How much of its appearance within French culture was a consequence of adopted foreign fashions, views, social and aesthetic connotations? When did the viol become an accepted and promoted instrument for amateur music enthusiasts, and when did instrument makers in France begin to consider it a viable commercial pursuit?

This thesis maintains the following line of introduction and establishment for the viol into sixteenth-century French culture: the viol was brought to France as part of a foreign entourage most likely during the first quarter of the sixteenth or perhaps at the very end of the fifteenth century. At the same time the viol would have been heard at foreign courts by French emissaries. French royal or ducal courts emulated their foreign counterparts, employing or developing in-house viol consorts to play vocal and instrumental music that was flourishing through rapid dissemination of printed music at that time. Players were employed for entertainment by French royal and ducal courts as part of the household, as well as hired for specific festivities and events.

From the second quarter of the sixteenth century the viol began to appear in earnest in a range of visual media, an early important unreported genre being the stained glass windows of French Burgundy and Normandy. The viol's dramatic rise in popular awareness during the 1540s and 1550s was both encouraged by and reflected in its use in pageantry and celebration, through an increased interest by amateur music enthusiasts and through its representation in visual media of the period.

Through a strong Italianate influence in visual media, the School of Fontainebleau developed a new French style seen in print, decorative arts and adorning the many walls of the Château de Fontainebleau. Cultivating sensuous allegorical and mythological visual programmes, these artists chose to place the viol in the hands of Apollo, an

allegorical symbol of François I and his desire to create an enlightened, refined and learned culture as patron of the Liberal Arts. The viol, unlike the violin in Italy, was at the centre of this allegorical programme that radiated from the first School of Fontainebleau into all visual media, triumphal entries and spectacles.

At the same time an increased awareness of the viol in French culture made the viol an excellent choice for the gentleman amateur, and in consort form it excelled as an instrumental vehicle for the chansons, motets and psalm settings published with increasing rapidity by publishers such as Pierre Attaingnant, Jacques Moderne, le Roy and Ballard. Posthumous inventories attest to the popularity of the viol in the 1540s and 1550s, but throughout the second half of the sixteenth century the popularity of the violin began to overtake that of the viol at court and eventually for domestic music-making.

Methodology – organology and the study of material culture

The study of musical instruments can be approached from many different directions: historical, object-based surveys, acoustic or craft-based design, the connection of developments in construction methods or improvements leading to repertoire and playing-technique developments. My interest in musical instruments has always been focused on their social and cultural use, especially the initial contact and development of an instrument within a culture. In the field of organology this holistic approach has been a contentious issue for some organologists in recent generations who feel that the boundaries of organological research should be defined by the physical boundaries of the instrument.

This approach, which focuses on the structure of the instrument itself, could be termed ‘physical’ organology, and includes the design, development, acoustics and materials involved in making musical instruments. Any approaches outside of this physical inspection and enquiry could be termed ‘cultural’, ‘social’ or ‘interdisciplinary’

organology, seeking more fully to understand a musical instrument by placing it within a historical or cultural context. I, along with many other scholars and organologists, believe that all studies of musical instruments from various points of enquiry are valid and bring scholars closer to understanding the complex role and importance that music and musical instruments play in human experience. It is from this interdisciplinary standpoint that I approach my thesis topic.

Research into the introduction, development and establishment of the viol in sixteenth-century France began with the following questions: What happened when the viol was introduced from one culture to another? Was the viol used in exactly the same way musically in the new culture? How did the instrument change within the new culture? Did it change physically: in construction, tuning or playing technique? Did its associations change, whether socially, artistically or aesthetically? Did the repertoire or ensemble construct change?

The core of this thesis is strongly connected to material culture studies. My fundamental aim is to investigate the cultural assimilation of a material object; what happens when a musical instrument is taken from one culture and introduced into another. By focusing on the viol in sixteenth-century France, a time and place where very few or no attributable instruments survive, the impetus has been on exploring surviving resources from the period to build up a picture of how, when and why the viol became part of French culture.

I believe that the study of transmission, cultural interaction and exchange, whether in relation to music or musical instruments, must be understood within a larger cultural context if it is to be historically viable. I assume that music and musical instruments in the Renaissance were not seen by most people within a vacuum, outside of their cultural or social context. For the purpose of this scholarly exercise they have not been approached as separate either, seeking to reveal a more comprehensive history of the viol in Renaissance France through an interdisciplinary range of resources.

Methodology – iconography

Images of the viol, found in printed, drawn, and various visual media, have proven to be a resource of utmost importance to my PhD dissertation. Included as ‘Catalogue of Select Images’ in Appendix IV, it is the first known attempt approaching a comprehensive catalogue of depictions of the viol in sixteenth-century France, and can be considered an important contribution to modern iconographic scholarship and organology.¹

The methodology behind my image searches was simple, but time consuming. Hundreds of printed and online resources were systematically examined for images of the viol in France, and other European nations for comparison. The best resources proved to be Gallica, the digitised website for the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF) and art history books which focused on a specific medium or artist from the sixteenth century. An educational website for fretted instruments (The Cipher) hosted by Roger Edward Blumberg, a music theorist and musical instrument enthusiast, contains a large number of images of the viol in sixteenth-century visual media that were vital to early investigations into this aspect of my dissertation.² Once a precedent was established within an artistic school, a location, medium or allegorical theme, many more examples were found by exhausting the resources at my disposal.

On-site visits in France also proved very important to unearthing further images of the viol. Take, for example, the use of the viol in early sixteenth-century stained glass of French Burgundy and Normandy. Corpus Vitrearum International publishes reference books on the stained glass from numerous countries and periods; these books have been an essential reference resource for this dissertation. Within France the volumes are

¹ Every attempt has been made to include images of the highest quality in the catalogue, but due to the dispersed digital/online/printed method of image acquisition during the research process of this dissertation, a small number of images are of lesser quality.

² www.thecipher.com.

published primarily by region, and list information by city, church and individual window panel. Once a number of viols had been identified being played by angel musicians in these reference books, I consulted online resources and visited every relevant church and cathedral I could in a number of key cities in the region.

While some stained glass windows depicting angel musicians were given an image in the reference books, many were not, as the books were written by art historians without a focus on music. I would, however, note any churches in the area with sixteenth-century stained glass, and perhaps sixty percent of the time these churches would reveal additional images of angel musicians playing a viol, all of which had never been discussed or evaluated from an organological perspective.

Identifying a growing collection of viol images gave my early PhD research a new impetus and focus, but it also threw up a number of questions as to which images should be included as part of a thesis on the viol in sixteenth-century France. As a collection of images in different media grew, it became apparent that many artists working in France were foreign or copying foreign prints according to either the tastes of their patrons or what was in vogue at the time. The question arose as to whether these artworks should be included.

All images of the viol in works that were created in France or commissioned by French patrons have been included within this study, for example engravings, drawings and frescos by Italian artists working for the royal court in the School of Fontainebleau, as well as stained glass works based on Flemish *cartons* (cartoons) or models. My theory behind including these works as ‘French,’ is that these images, many of which are among the earliest images of the viol found in the first half of the sixteenth century, introduced the viewer to a new musical instrument in vogue at the time. The inclusion of a viol within an allegorical print, stained glass panel or triumphal entry static tableau scene communicated not only physical characteristics such as the shape, manner of

playing and size of the instrument, but also its social and cultural connotations and fashionable status.

The issue of iconography as a reliable source of information on musical instruments has long been acknowledged to be fraught with inconsistencies and uncertainty for the modern scholar.³ Viols depicted in sixteenth-century France are no exception, and the current understanding asserted by modern scholarship that bowed string instruments of the early sixteenth century could be found in a range of shapes, sizes and design models further complicates organological research based on visual media. I have therefore used my collection of identified images to gather information not only on style, size and method of playing, but also allegorical themes, civic and social use, recurring themes and placement/meaning within an artwork. In an obviously inaccurate physical portrayal of a viol, other aspects can still be investigated and questioned, even down to if the artist consciously included the viol, copied another work, or just added it as a decorative element.

Cultural influence vs. cultural exchange

Henri Zerner explores the issue of Italian cultural influence on France in the introduction of his book, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, where he writes:

The idea that the Renaissance is an Italian phenomenon imported to France, even if fiercely debated at times, is still quite widely held. This is inevitable for the simple reason that the French of the sixteenth century felt constantly obliged to measure themselves against the Italians who in turn claimed cultural hegemony. Yet it is impossible to reduce the French Renaissance to the more or less successful adaptation of an Italian model.⁴

France looked to other cultures, especially contemporary Italy and its strong connection to Classical Antiquity, for inspiration and guidance on matters of aesthetic sophistication,

³ See for instance Emanuel Winternitz, 'Images as Records for the History of Music', *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter*, vol. 2, no. 2 (spring 1977), 5-9; Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, second edition).

⁴ Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, translated by Deke Dusinberre, Scott Wilson and Rachel Zerner (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 5.

erudite philosophy and outward manifestations of these ideals through art, music and literature. The profound effect of the Italianate ideal on François I and his desire to create an enlightened, refined and learned culture through devoted patronage of the Liberal Arts continued a trend from Charles VIII, Louis XII and their generations, who were deeply affected by their cultural experiences in Italy during the military campaigns into Italy from 1494 onward.

The cultural influence was not one-directional, however, emanating only from Italy. During the same period the French monarchy was keen to communicate the brilliance of the French king, his court and culture through patronage abroad. While Italian art and antiquities were being carried back to France by the cart-load, French cardinals in Rome were funding opulent commissions in the form of sacred buildings, artwork and the decoration of their private residences using artists and materials specifically from France. Only a few years after the military campaigns into Italy of 1494-95, Cardinal Jean de Bilhères Lagrulas commissioned Michelangelo to sculpt a scene of the *Pietà* for his own tomb in the chapel of Santa Petronilla, known as the ‘chapel of French kings’. The choice of northern iconography for the grieving Virgin reflected attempts to strengthen the political and cultural image of France in Rome, and in its splendour, demonstrate the power, magnificence and influence of the French monarchy on foreign soil.⁵

In the first decade of the sixteenth century, Cardinal Guillaume Briçonnet spared no expense to have stone imported all the way from Languedoc for the nave and transept vaults of the church of Trinità dei Monti in Rome, where it is also believed that he commissioned the French painter Guillaume Marcillat to create the stained glass windows of the church. The choice to use French building materials and employ French artists at a time when military campaigns were focused on the Kingdom of Naples and

⁵ Flaminia Bardati, ‘Between the king and the pope: French cardinals in Rome (1495 – 1560)’, *Urban History*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2010): 422.

the Duchy of Milan sent a clear message to the Roman religious and noble elite that the aesthetic tastes of France (alongside Italian traditions) were also to be admired.⁶

At the mid-point of the century, Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac had a sumptuous suburban villa in Rome where he invited French, Italian and other artists to stay. Mainly working for the cardinal, they were encouraged to mingle with humanists, intellectuals and philosophers of the Roman elite circles. This connection to foreign and Italian artists allowed d'Armagnac and other French cardinals in Rome to commission contemporary art and acquire objects of antiquity for their personal collections or for the French crown, an activity through which they could actively participate in Roman elite culture.⁷

The French royal court, in its travels and interactions with foreign cultures through diplomatic negotiations and spectacular *fêtes*, would have been host to a grand array of musical entertainment, its emissaries witness to musical and artistic creativity of the highest quality across Europe. As musical sophistication was considered a reflection of an excellent education and cultural refinement, the presence of this new fashionable instrument in the kingdoms and city states of Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, Spain or England would not have gone unnoticed by French courtiers, ambassadors and the musicians under their service.

The fundamental aim of this dissertation is to explore how cultural exchange and influence affected in the introduction of the viol into France, and its subsequent development and establishment within French culture. Evidence of professional and amateur use of the viol or its feature within French visual media, *fêtes* and pageantry point primarily to cultural connections with Italian states or the Low Countries, and thus interactions with these foreign cultures are primarily represented within this dissertation. Further research into the diplomatic activities of royal and ducal courts on home soil and

⁶ Ibid., 423.

⁷ Ibid., 427-29.

abroad will most likely identify examples of cultural transfer in connection to the viol between France, its territories and other European cultural centres.

Palaeography

Conducting original research on a sixteenth-century topic requires the ability to read and understand sixteenth-century handwriting. I had only dabbled in French palaeography before the commencement of this PhD project, and the self-taught process of learning French sixteenth-century palaeography took many years to become proficient. Mastery is a long way off, but this essential acquired skill allowed me to identify and transcribe important documents relating to the viol (and other instruments) in posthumous inventories, city, court and church records, that had not previously been identified. While online practice and reference guides proved some use, it was Gabriel Audisio and Isabelle Rambaud's *Lire le français d'hier* and many hours of practice that ultimately improved this vital research skill.⁸

Bibliographic review

There are very few modern articles or books that focus specifically on the viol in France during the sixteenth century. I was confident that this early history of the viol was waiting to be discovered – in archives, books and visual media of the period – and I believe that this dissertation complements current and past scholarship, making an important contribution to the understanding of French and European musical culture.

Ian Woodfield's book, *The Early History of the Viol*, was my first introduction to early histories of new musical instruments, and the important role cross-cultural interaction had to play. Within the book, Woodfield conducts an extensive survey of the early viol in Europe, but the section on France in the sixteenth century is decidedly smaller than

⁸ Gabriel Audisio and Isabelle Rambaud, *Lire le français d'hier, manuel de paléographie moderne XV^e – XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2003).

chapters on other European countries.⁹ The book's central argument and foundation is based on Woodfield's research on the viol in Spain, Italy, Germany and Britain, for which there is ample evidence. The short chapter on France and the Low Countries gives a number of excellent historical references to the viol, but does not discuss the introduction, development and establishment of the viol in French culture. In many ways Woodfield's book inspired me to choose the viol in sixteenth-century France as a dissertation topic, and this thesis could be considered a continuation, development or expansion of this important research begun several decades ago. Recent developments such as increased access to primary sources through online digitisation, image-sharing online through specialist websites and Flickr have facilitated in-depth surveys of world-wide collections, an invaluable resource that has made a focused study of the viol in sixteenth-century France possible.

There are a number of books (and articles) on French Renaissance music that bring to light surviving records of viol use at the time. Some introduce new information that relates specifically to this research subject. Some authors recycle the same documentary evidence of the viol found in a string of past published research. In most scholarly works these brief examples are not the author's focus, providing a few tantalising clues for my research, but often with only the most basic comment or detail.

The research of several authors stands out as exemplary for the angle of enquiry with which I approach my thesis topic. The published work of François Lesure, historian *par excellence*, undoubtedly inspired a generation of musicologists and historians interested in the French Renaissance; his work on music and musicians in sixteenth-century France and posthumous inventories, based on thorough and impressive archival research, has challenged me to consider new ways of thinking about the viol in French culture and inspired me to find new ways of approaching existing documents to create a more

⁹ Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988).

cohesive picture of music, music-making and instrument-making in France during the period.

More recently, Jeanice Brooks, Christelle Cazaux and Isabelle Handy's comprehensive books on music and musicians in the French royal court have provided invaluable resources with which to identify the roles and instruments associated with professional musicians.¹⁰ The exhaustive tables listing and transcribing all records to musicians have given me access to a wealth of information, allowing me to conduct detailed analyses on individual players, explore issues of nomenclature in records over a period of many decades and to effectively address terms such as *joueur d'instruments* with new proposals in meaning and usage.¹¹

In addition, the importance given to social and cultural aspects, gender and musical instruments in Brooks's style of investigative research and writing has been very helpful and motivating in my attempts to identify, research and understand the interconnectedness of an object to the culture in which it has been introduced. Comprehensive resources compiled by Isabelle Handy on musicians in the courts of the last Valois kings (1547-1589) are introduced alongside important contextual sections including the organisation of royal households, official positions held by musicians, music as a profession and the social standing of musicians during the period.

Of books and articles that focus on the French viol, very few focus on the sixteenth century, and information on viol use during the first half of the century is very rare. Even in articles such as Michel Sicard's 'The French Viol School before 1650', very little is discussed before the end of the sixteenth century.¹² This lack of focus on the viol

¹⁰ Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Christelle Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}* (Paris: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2002). Isabelle Handy, *Musiciens au temps des derniers Valois* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2008).

¹¹ See Chapter Two.

¹² Michel Sicard, 'The French Viol School before 1650', *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1981): 76-93.

in sixteenth-century France, seen repeatedly in current and past scholarship, in my mind reinforced the need for a concentrated and interdisciplinary study, as found in this dissertation. I found it highly suspect that the history of the French sixteenth-century viol was truly so limited by a want of sources, as perhaps suggested by the lack of a comprehensive study on the subject. An interdisciplinary approach has not only revealed many, many more sources, but has also contributed to a more in-depth understanding of the viol within French culture.

Social uses

One example of a useful book in which the viol does not play a key role within the presented music study is Isabelle Cazeaux's, *French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.¹³ While not focused on the viol, it is a useful survey of music and musical instrument use in the sixteenth century, giving context and background to in-depth research of the viol during this period. Cazeaux also cites a number of instances where the viol turns up in archival and printed sources. Her book considers cultural connections, musical education, political ties, influences, music of different social circles, book production, outdoor vs. indoor, theatre and celebrations. In this way, Cazeaux's manner of enquiry considers the subject holistically, juxtaposing in each chapter a series of concepts and social spheres in which music was found.

Howard Mayer Brown's research into music and musical instruments has a similar interdisciplinary approach, and provided a focused look into the world musical instruments and musicians inhabited in Medieval/Renaissance France. His book, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* explores music, musicians and musical instruments within the very specific genre of secular theatre.¹⁴ In relation to the viol, a

¹³ Isabelle Cazeaux, *French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975).

¹⁴ Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963).

number of archival records are detailed which provide excellent specific references to viol use in secular and theatre entertainment.

In his book, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*, Frank Dobbins examines all music-making activities, from private recitals for foreign ambassadors to the thriving music printing trade in Lyon.¹⁵ As a concentrated study, it has been a source of inspiration for its interdisciplinary approach, in which the people, commercial activities and history of the city play a large part in providing a rich context for the dynamic musical scene at the time.

In a similar manner, royal or triumphal entries have proved to be an untapped primary source in which numerous examples record the use of the viol. Scholarly books on these sources, however, vary in focus. Even in sections that discuss music at these festivities, the authors tend to spend little time on the viol, due either to a broad music focus or a lack of evidence specifically relating to viols. Nonetheless, research surrounding these spectacles has given a greater understanding of the social milieu in which viol players were sometimes recorded.

The monograph on Henri II and Catherine de Medici's entry in to Lyon in 1548 by Richard Cooper introduced me not only to the genre of triumphal entries, but also prompted the exploration of the cultural significance of discrepancies in detail between various versions of the same entry, differentiated by language, author or intended audience.¹⁶

While the large number of triumphal entries consulted were read in their original form (including digitised versions), a few monographs on triumphal entries gave excellent and comprehensive accounts of triumphal entries during the sixteenth century. *The Royal*

¹⁵ Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

¹⁶ Richard Cooper, ed., *Maurice Scève: The Entry of Henri II into Lyon, September 1548, A facsimile with an Introduction by Richard Cooper*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. CLX (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997).

Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: festivals and entries, 1564-6 by Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson offered multiple sources for a series of entries over a two-year period.¹⁷ These varying sources, in multiple languages and media (publications, letters and memoirs) served to deepen my enquiry into the connections between audience, author, historical detail and accuracy.

Complementing Graham and McAllister Johnson's book is Frances Amelia Yates's research into the Valois Tapestries.¹⁸ Her book incorporated iconographic, archival and printed resources in a comprehensive and interdisciplinary study of royal fêtes through their artistic representation in the famous tapestries. Yates's book also acted as inspiration for my interdisciplinary research using various media and sources.

Royal fêtes during the Renaissance have been researched and discussed through a range of subjects, including historical, art historical, architectural, political, allegorical and musicological; an excellent series of essays edited by Jean Jacquot includes information on musicians in Renaissance France and information on the Valois Tapestries.¹⁹ The collection of essays is also a resource for the comparison of *fêtes* across Europe, from a multitude of angles of enquiry. A more modern study of court festival culture can be found in the book, *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring. Here, studies are brought together by a number of prominent scholars on topics including triumphal entries, politics and performance, tours of foreign sovereigns in France and music within court spectacles and triumphs.²⁰

¹⁷ Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, eds., *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564-6* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

¹⁸ Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1959).

¹⁹ Jean Jacquot, ed., *Les fêtes de la Renaissance. Vol. I, Journées internationales d'études: Abbaye du Royaumont, 8-13 Juillet 1955 ; études réunies et présentées par Jean Jacquot* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956).

²⁰ J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring, eds., *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002).

Albert Jacquot's *La musique en Lorraine: étude retrospective d'après les archives locales*, is an excellent monograph on music and music-making in Lorraine.²¹ Jacquot wrote on a range of musical instruments based on his research into regional archives. As a study of an area over time, his book comes the closest alongside Woodfield's *The Early history of the viol* to a dedicated study of the viol in France (alongside other instruments), and includes information on viol players and luthiers during the sixteenth century.

Instrument-making and physical evidence

No viols can be confidently attributed to instrument makers working in France during the sixteenth century, and it is very likely because of this paucity of physical evidence that there are few articles on French viols from the period. An article on instrument-making in Paris by François Lesure gives information on the types or amounts of instruments being made.²² In place of physical evidence, however, Lesure uses archival material to give social context to music and musicians of sixteenth-century France. His archival appendix to the article is especially helpful as inventories of luthiers' workshops are very specific and the scribe is careful to delineate between violins and viols, sizes of viols, as well as any particularly notable instruments in terms of materials, cost or decoration. This trade knowledge and detail is useful during a period in which nomenclature found in many records cannot be taken at face value.

Ian Harwood's article on Renaissance viols highlights surviving viols from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including images of viols in many printed Renaissance

²¹ Albert Jacquot, *La musique en Lorraine: étude rétrospective d'après les archives locales*, 2nd edition (Paris: Fischbacher, 1882).

²² François Lesure, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle', *Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 7 (1954): 11-52. Another article which considers Renaissance instrument making in France is: Florence Gétéau, 'Instrument making in Lyon and Paris around 1600', *Musikalische Aufführungspraxis in nationalen Dialogen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Teil 2, Musikinstrumentenbau-Zentren im 16. Jahrhundert* (26. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium, 6-8 May 2005) (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2007).

treatises.²³ Harwood is careful to mention and keep in mind the ever-present changes that were the fate of many viols during the subsequent centuries, but information collected on shape, method of construction and design detail provides a useful foundation for analysis of viol imagery in various art media consulted for this dissertation. One of the viols briefly included for a drawn shape comparison in the article is a viol supposedly made by Gaspar Duiffoprugcar (a luthier working in Lyon), held in The Hague Gemeentemuseum.²⁴ Otherwise the majority of surviving instruments from this period reported by Harwood are Italian or English.²⁵

Artistic representation – iconography and art history

Numerous books on different artistic media have assisted in my wide survey of French visual media for images of the viol. Some serve as a means for searching images, some give background information on important relevant media outwith my academic focus. Several images of the viol have been found in these art historical studies, but the focus of these books is artistic, not organological or musicological, and has provided an understanding of artistic process, allegory and visual language, individual makers and the developing artistic culture of the period.

Henri Zerner's excellent books on French art of the Renaissance, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, and *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings*, have provided a cultural and artistic framework for the analysis of identified images of the viol, as discussed in Chapter Three and the Catalogue of Select Images,

²³ Ian Harwood, 'An Introduction to Renaissance Viols', *Early Music*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1974): 234-246.

²⁴ For a discussion on Duiffoprugcar and surviving instruments, see Chapter Six.

²⁵ A follow-up article published as a conversation between Ian Harwood and Martin Edmunds in *Early Music* discusses physical aspects of Renaissance viols, but is only relevant in comparison for this dissertation's presented research findings, and does not specifically discuss French viols or viol makers. Ian Harwood and Martin Edmunds, 'Reconstructing 16th-century Venetian viols', *Early Music*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1978): 519-525.

found in Appendix IV.²⁶ Essays on specific artists, themes or styles have given context and provided a deeper understanding for the abovementioned sections within this dissertation on visual media.²⁷

Primary sources

There are two main types of archival sources used in this dissertation. The first, in the form of payment records, can be found as *comptes* or *despences* in court and city records. These normally give the most basic information of name, date, payment amount and a type of instrument played. The most uncertainty surrounding musicians can be found in these records, where names are given numerous variants in spelling (even on the same page) or the term *joueur d'instruments* does not list the specific instrument played. These records are, however, an excellent resource for information on the ongoing costs of maintaining a group of musicians, how much they were paid, and over time their changing musical roles in the household.

The second, *inventaires après décès*, or posthumous inventories of personal goods, tell us of the material objects owned by men and women of the sixteenth century. This information reveals the musical collections of professional musicians, the personal playing collections of amateur music enthusiasts and workshop or saleroom contents after the death of an instrument maker/seller. These inventories are a fascinating resource that is initially discussed in Chapter Two, and in depth in Chapter Five. *Inventaires des biens*, a similar type of document that recorded goods in a building, often a castle or other official building, did not produce the information on musical instruments as anticipated after the many successes consulting personal inventories.

²⁶ Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, translated by Deke Dusinberre, Scott Wilson and Rachel Zerner (Paris: Flammarion, 2003). Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969).

²⁷ See for instance, Luisa Capodiceci, 'Le roi, la lune et l'amour dans la salle de bal à Fontainebleau', *¿Renaissance en France, renaissance française?* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 2009): 293-322.

Printed books from the sixteenth century contained many examples of depicted viols, as is discussed in Chapters Three, Four and Five. As a matter of course, I tried to consult as many books as possible in person and in digitised format mainly through Gallica (BnF), Bibliothèques Humanistes Virtuelles (Université de Tours) and the British Library (hereafter BL). Books cited in the bibliography at the end of this dissertation are but a small fraction of the consulted books on music, art, philosophy, literature, science and triumphal entries, among other genres, as on many occasions depictions of the viol appeared as a decorative element in books that had no connection to music.

Dissertation overview

The organisation of this dissertation has been arranged in somewhat chronological fashion, allowing for the introduction of the physical instrument in France to come first in the dissertation plan. Chapter Two investigates the professional use of the viol in ducal and royal courts, taking into account relevant archival evidence. Issues of wording or nomenclature in archival documents are explored, as is new evidence for in-house development of viol consorts and/or the use of viols to accompany solo singing. The instrument known as the ‘lire’ or ‘lyre’ is also examined, making connections to plucked and bowed performance practice of the period.

Chapter Three reveals a large amount of original research on identified images of the viol in sixteenth-century French visual media. In this chapter, issues of accuracy in portrayal, methods of artistic creation and physical depictions of the viol across the century are explored and analysed. Three case studies are given, including images of the viol in stained glass, the School of Fontainebleau and uses of the viol in decorative embellishment.

Chapter Four investigates textual and visual evidence of the viol in triumphal entries, festivals and their respective printed publications. Many issues are addressed in this chapter, including the differing expectations and assumed interests of author and reader

in various cultures, clashes and discrepancies between textual and visual evidence, and how changing tastes affected interpretations of the viol in allegorical imagery throughout the second half of the century.

Chapter Five examines amateur music-making and the viol, taking into account archival evidence in the form of *inventaires après décès*, printed music and the amateur market and formal and self-taught instrumental instruction, including Marseille's music school and Philibert Jambe de Fer's *Epitome musical*. Issues addressed in this chapter centre on the difficulty surrounding comprehensive consultation of posthumous inventories and pinning down a repertoire for viol consorts.

Chapter Six considers evidence of viol-making during the period in workshop inventories, records of viol makers and viol pricing in the sixteenth century. Numerous issues are discussed in this chapter, including the relevance of the posthumous inventory as an archival resource in relation to the careers of instrument makers and the inauthenticity of Gaspar Duiffoprugcar's attributed viols.

A short Postlude examines the rise of the violin family throughout the sixteenth century, taking into consideration archival evidence of professional players, posthumous inventories of personal and workshop collections and artistic depictions of bass violins in connection to the court of Catherine de Médicis. A Conclusion and Bibliography follows for the whole dissertation.

In the Appendices, Appendix I provides examples of archival references to the viol, while Appendix II lists examples in posthumous inventories. Appendix III gives comparative illustrations, as referenced in the dissertation, while Appendix IV is the 'Catalogue of Select Images', found in Volume II.

Chapter Two: Professional Musicians and the Viol

This chapter reports and analyses evidence of the integration of the viol into sixteenth-century French courtly and noble cultures, identifying and exploring complementary evidence, making a case for a more defined history of viol use in sixteenth-century France. The use of musicians on a grand scale, in royal entries and festivities is discussed in a separate chapter on triumphal entries, as is the adoption of the viol by amateur music enthusiasts.

Records relating to the employment or casual payment of professional musicians in the sixteenth century survive in the national archives and regional departmental archives across France. In comparison with other musical instruments, few viol players are mentioned in the documents still surviving, recording payments to court instrumentalists, or as occasional musicians hired for events. Taken at face value, this information might imply that the viol was not an instrument in favour in France at the time, but contemporary evidence attests to the contrary.¹ Before details of paid viol players are explored in this chapter, it is important to briefly consider what types of musical instruments were found in the hands of professional musicians in the first decades of the sixteenth century as the viol arrived on the scene, focusing for comparison on bowed and plucked string instruments. What can surviving records tell us of the types of instruments used, individual players versus consorts and changing trends in use?

Before the viol, instrumental music in the royal court

In his doctoral dissertation, ‘Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) and Music: An Archival Study’, Stephen Bonime details records pertaining to members of the queen’s royal *chambre* beginning in 1490.² In addition to the trumpets and loud instruments of the

¹ See Chapter Three on representations of the viol in visual media and Chapter Five on amateur music making.

² Stephen Bonime, ‘Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) and Music: An Archival Study’ (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975).

stables and singers of the *chapelle*, instrumental musicians included Evrard de la Chappelle, *chantre et joueur d'orgues*, Anthoine de Hee, *chantre et joueur du ludz*, as well as Jehan de la Ville, *harpeur*, Jehan Morel, *tabourin* and Jehan Delaire, *cornet*.³ In addition to these musicians noted in the expense records on a regular basis, Jean Riet was listed as a *valet de chambre* in 1490, a position given to the king's most honoured musicians, as well as the king's surgeon and other esteemed men of the court. Riet may have been a musician, being connected to musical endeavours two years previously in 1488 where he was reimbursed for buying an 'eschiquier ou manicordion', a keyboard instrument. This could have been for his use, or just as possibly for Evrard, the king's organist. A musician named Bonnet de Bonnet was also occasionally rewarded at court for his accomplished performances on many instruments, including the cornemuse, for which he was understood to be a virtuoso.⁴

During Charles VIII's foray into Italy in 1494-95, he brought his entire household, including musicians of the *écurie*, *chambre* and *chapelle*.⁵ Not long after, the first sackbut appears on the royal expense records in 1496, when Charles VIII and Anne de Bretagne were in Lyon. Of probable Italian descent, Pierre de Modène (most likely from Modena) was the only sackbut player at the French court for a number of years. Charles VIII's successor Louis XII greatly expanded the household's wind consorts, increasing the possibility (and probability) that polyphonic music was heard at court. By 1502 six Milanese musicians were part of the household as players of the sackbut and shawms.⁶

In Anne de Bretagne's personal household she maintained singers and instrumentalists; for instance, in 1508 it is recorded that two clarions, two trumpets and two shawms were part of her *écurie*, as recorded by a gift from the city of Pontoise to her musicians during

³ Including singers that were recorded in conjunction with the *chambre*, Bonime lists the 'Musique de la Chambre' as a vocal trio, with possible accompaniment provided by players of the lute, organ, harp, cornet and drum. Ibid., 40-41.

⁴Ibid., 47-48.

⁵Ibid., 46.

⁶Ibid., 52.

her triumphal entry into the city.⁷ Less than ten years later it is recorded in 1503 that the city of Lyon spent three livres ten sols tournois on four musicians who played at a banquet following the signing of a treaty by Louis XII and Archduke Philippe le beau, in which it was agreed that their children, Claude de France and the future Emperor Charles V would marry. The city's contribution to the festive event was the services of an organist, lutenist, rebec-player and tabourin.⁸

From 1514 for over twenty years Lancelot le Vasseur was recorded as a member of the François I's *chambre*, and from 1531-36 he was also specified as a rebec player for Eleanor of Austria.⁹ Violons were part of the *écurie* from c. 1529; these players will be discussed further below in the section on the royal court, as a number of them were later also associated with the viol during their musical careers.¹⁰

Issues in nomenclature: the term 'joueur d'instruments' revisited

As the chapter's focus turns to evidence of the viol used by professional musicians, several issues need to first be addressed surrounding the use of the word 'viole', 'violle', 'vyolle' and even 'violon' in archival documents, as nomenclature, generic terms and multi-instrumentalists confuse a modern evaluation of what might have been the actual course of events and instruments played.

The scribes of records of expenses in ducal or royal court *comptes* and *despences*, notarial records or in the royal *menus plaisirs* normally list similar key points of information – name, date and amount of payment. Specific details noting the instrument played were less consistently recorded, and the designation *joueur d'instruments* has been identified in numerous documents as a generic 'catch-all' phrase by scribes whom

⁷ Ibid., 66.

⁸ Ibid., 69.

⁹ Christelle Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}* (Paris: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2002), 317-21.

¹⁰ Ibid., 325.

perhaps did not know instruments by sight or name, did not have access to this information, or did not see the necessity in recording such specific information.

From collecting and analysing as comprehensive a cross-section of names and instruments as possible identified by the author, past and current scholars, another explanation for the term *joueur d'instruments* will instead now be proposed. The term may have also been used when the musician in question played a number of musical instruments, making the designation less one of generic disinterest and possibly more one that acknowledged the multi-talented nature of hired musicians in the employment of local and royal courts. There is documentary evidence of viol players being named specifically in connection with the instrument itself, and alternatively being called *joueur d'instruments*. One example was Pierre d'Auxerre, a musician at the royal court from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Alternatively recorded as a *joueur de violle* and as a *joueur d'instruments* throughout his career, he is discussed in more detail below.

It is not intended to suggest that every time a *joueur d'instruments* was recorded in a sixteenth-century document it was a viol player, as this would be unsubstantiated bias. I would assert however that as a professional viol player competence on a range of sizes and similar instruments would have been expected, and indeed demanded, as musical requirements changed from event to event. As a musician it would have been highly advantageous to play as many instruments as possible to ensure steady employment, and the fashion for vocal music played by instrumental consorts in the second quarter of the sixteenth century attests to the need for a multi-instrumental approach. Thus then the term 'joueur d'instruments' may have been used as a common term for musicians performing on a range of similar instruments, such as various members of the string or wind families, a concept discussed by Christelle Cazaux in her book *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}*.¹¹

¹¹ Ibid., 118, 148. Cazaux asserts the term 'joueur d'instruments' signified a professional musician, and was associated with musicians of the *écurie*, including shawm, sackbut and violin players, an idea

The term *joueur d'instruments* was also identified in several *inventaires après décès* (posthumous inventories of household goods) by François Lesure in his article, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle' and extends this argument to multi-instrumentalists of many instrument families.¹² Two posthumous inventories of goods belonging to Etienne Loré records him as a *joueur d'instruments*, and lists violins, hautbois, flutes and a tabor among his instruments.¹³

The extensive inventory of Nicolas Robillard, also recorded as a *joueur d'instruments* in 1557, lists citterns, lutes, gitterns, violins, hautbois, flute and tabor, cornets, sackbuts, a manicordion, replacement violin and gittern strings alongside three large viols:

Firstly a double contrabass viol priced IX L III s.

Item two small contrabasses, the smallest with its case priced together X l. X s.¹⁴

Robillard truly had instruments for every occasion, and undoubtedly played all these instruments to varying levels of proficiency as and when they were required.

In 1570 Guillaume Masnet, *joueur d'instruments*, had in his personal collection a cittern, gittern, three 'poches' (probably pochettes, small bowed string instruments), a German flute, a range of different sizes and styles of cornets and a 'dessus de violon', alongside:

Item a contrabass violin in the Venetian style, that has its strings, bow and leather case priced XVI esc. X s.

Item another contrabass in the Parisian style, also with its strings and bow priced VIII esc.¹⁵

communicated by Henri Prunières in his article, 'La musique de la chambre et de l'écurie sous le règne de François I^{er}'. See fn 61 for reference.

¹² François Lesure, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 7 (April 1954), 11-52. *Inventaires après décès*, or posthumous inventories of household goods, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five on amateur music making.

¹³ There are two *inventaires après décès* of Étienne Loré, one identified by Lesure, Archives nationales, MC ET LIV 226 *bis* dated 11 December 1553, and a second personally identified and dated four days later, 15 December 1553, Archives nationales, MC ET LIV 215. *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁴ 'Premièrement une double basse contre de viole prisé IX L III s. Item deux petites basses contres, la plus petite garnye de son estuy prisé ensemble X l. X s'. Archives nationales, MC ET III 121 (20 September 1557). *Ibid.*, 25-26.

The inventory is also of greater interest because the descriptions and monetary estimates assigned to each musical instrument were completed by a named *maître joueur d'instruments*, Jehan Langloys, recorded in civil records as part of a family of musicians.¹⁶ Each entry records more information than normal about the instrument's size, style of construction and even occasionally its maker. These *inventaires après décès* and similar others demonstrate that the term *joueur d'instrument* meant 'multi-instrumentalist', and was not a generic term used by uninterested or unknowledgeable scribes and notaries.

Musicians also sought to learn new instruments and increase their employability. In 1582 a notarial record exists in the form of an agreement between two *joueurs d'instruments* in which Michel le Bon promised to teach Henri Pelletier how to play the violin in exchange for payment.¹⁷

Multi-instrumentalists may also have either been listed by the instrument played at the event, or by their primary instrument – a discrepancy in record-keeping that would not have recorded the full extent of their musical service. Jehan de Bella, for instance was recorded alternatively as a *joueur de rebec du roi*, *joueur du viole et de violon* and *chancre du roi* in the royal court at Blois (near Orléans) between 1543 and 1557.¹⁸ In any given year it is very probable that he would have used his musical skills on varying instruments as required for each event, and the records may have reflected his type of musical service at that particular time, most likely dictated to the scribe by the musician himself as he received payment for quarterly or annual wages. Musicians such as Jehan de Bella, recorded in different posts over a period of many years, might also have

¹⁵ 'Item une basse contre de violon, façon de Venize, qui est garnye de ses cordes, archet et estuy de cuyr prisee XVI esc. X s. Item une autre bass contre, façon de Paris, aussi garnye de ses cordes et archet prisee VIII esc.'. Archives nationales, MC ET CV 4 (8 August 1570). Ibid., 29-30.

¹⁶ Yolande de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris 1532-1792. Actes d'état civil d'après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Éditions A et J Picard & Compagnie, 1965), 168-70.

¹⁷ Lesure, 'La facture', 35. Archives nationales, MC ET IX 241 (9 February 1582 n.st).

¹⁸ Madeleine and Jean-Paul Cabarat, *Le chant d'une ville: la musique à Blois du XVe au XIXe siècle* (Blois: Editions Notre-Dame de la Trinité, 1995), 325.

changed musical roles in the household as new opportunities arose. As musicians left, retired or died in post, putting a known and capable musician within the current household in this required role would have saved time and effort, rather than finding a new one. Using existing multi-instrumentalists/singers to fulfil wanted roles is also discussed later in the chapter when surviving archival records detail instrument instruction for children in the chapel choir in the Duchy of Lorraine.

Evidence of regional viol usage – residential and visiting players across France

It is well documented that members of nobility in Italy played the viol as early as the last decades of the fifteenth century. In the surviving letters of the d'Este family, for instance, Alfonso d'Este wrote in 1499 that he was learning to play the 'viole da arco', and in the possession of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este I an inventory of 1520 lists numerous 'viole da arco' of different sizes. Ippolito's nephew (and Alfonso's son) Ippolito II would become the archbishop of Lyon from 1540-1551, and it can be asserted that Italian musical tastes and musicians travelled with him to Lyon during this period.¹⁹

It is unknown if Ippolito II played the viol as his father did, but in Ian Woodfield's book *The Early History of the Viol*, Woodfield mentions that at a banquet given by Ippolito II on 20 May 1529 in Ferrara, five viols played during the thirteenth course to entertain the guests, and it would most likely be a regular occurrence that viol players would provide incidental music at such occasions.²⁰ It is entirely plausible that when Ippolito was in Lyon, he brought a viol consort with him as part of his household. Future research at the d'Este family archives in Modena may reveal further evidence of the viol's initial use in Lyon during Ippolito II's appointment.

Woodfield also speculated on the musical entourage surrounding Cesare Borgia, the openly recognised son of Pope Alexander VI, when he travelled to France in 1498.

¹⁹ Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 87, 89, 92.

²⁰ Ibid., 184.

Before leaving Italy, Cesare wrote to Ercole d'Este in Ferrara, a well-documented patron of music and musician himself, and asked if he could send Cesare players of the bowed 'viole' so he could take them with him to France, where he claimed they were highly regarded.²¹ This would suggest that they were already known in France in 1498, at least in certain circles.

After these early possibilities, many opportunities could have been taken to bring the viol into France on diplomatic missions, ex-patriot cultural exchanges and the poaching and/or hiring of foreign players within the royal and ducal courts of France. Curiously enough, while records exist of viol players in the Low Countries by the first decade of the sixteenth century, no evidence has yet been found in written form that the viol made an impact into French culture until approximately the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

The Court of Lorraine

Some of the earliest references to viol players in French courtly entertainment can be found in the Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle in Nancy, France. Containing a large portion of the archives of the Duchy of Lorraine during the sixteenth century, scholars such as Albert Jacquot and Richard Freedman have published detailed accounts of their research into these important historical archival collections.²² Jacquot's research at the turn of the twentieth century identified an early reference to Jacques le Bel, who brought viols to the court of Lorraine from Paris:

To Jacques le Bel violist for four viols that Monseigneur the Duke had him bring from Paris the sum of thirty-three escuz sols by the mandate of Monseigneur the

²¹ Ibid., 196.

²² I would also like to thank Dr Cristina Diego-Pacheco and Dr Hélène Schneider for their assistance during and after my research trip to Nancy, and for generously sharing their knowledge and research into the music and archives of sixteenth-century Nancy. Albert Jacquot, *La musique en Lorraine, études rétrospective d'après les archives locales* (Genève: Minkoff Reprints, 1972). Richard Freedman, 'Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century' (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987).

Duke given (paid) at Bar the twenty-first day of October 1530 Here rendered with receipt for this ninety-nine fran.²³

It is worth noting as well that Jacquot (and hence all other publications that reference his work) made an error in the dating of this important early document. The reference and all others nearby it in the book of *despences* (expenses) are clearly dated autumn 1530, not 1529.²⁴

Jacques le Bel, also called ‘Jacotin’, was recorded as a *haute contre* in the chapel of François I from before 1525 onward. Before Le Bel’s service to the French royal crown, he was recorded on a number occasions as a *cantor secretus* in the private chapel of Pope Leo X (born Giovanni di Lorenzo de Medici, son of Lorenzo de Medici) from 1516 until 1520, not long before Leo X’s death in 1521.²⁵ Connected through musical patronage to some of the most powerful men in Europe at the time, Le Bel would have been part of a professional musical elite, very familiar with the viol (perhaps even a player himself) and well-placed to arrange the purchase (or import) of a set of viols in Paris for the Duke of Lorraine.

Antoine, Duke of Lorraine (1489-1544) was a musical patron, keeping singers and musicians in his household retinue at Bar-le-Duc alongside falconers, embroiderers, drapers and an army of cooks, pastry chefs and *valets de chambre*. The singers were listed as part of his personal chapel, in which daily devotion would have been embellished with up-to-date repertoire and talented musicians. It is here, amongst the most prized musicians that references to viols and viol playing are found.

The annual *despences* or expense records of the household unfailingly list the private chapel singers each year, as detailed by Freedman in his PhD dissertation, but references

²³ ‘A Jacques le Bel violleur pour quatre violles que monseigneur le duc luy a faict apporter de paris la somme de trente trois escuz sol par mandement du monseigneur le duc donne a bar le xxi jour d’octobre mil c^v xxx Icy Rendu avec quittance pour ce iiii^{xx}xix fran’. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1041. See Appendix I.

²⁴ Jacquot, *La musique*, 34.

²⁵ Cazaux, *La musique*, 360-61.

to the viol are few and far between, often only mentioned as a side note, or as a small detail within a payment for a completely different reason. After the abovementioned payment to Jacques le Bel one would assume (or indeed hope) that records listing payment to a consort of four viol players (or even individual players) would exist in the following years or decades. No such payments exist. Who then played these viols, and does evidence exist to suggest that viol playing was a common occurrence in the ducal court? The answer could be gleaned from a series of references from the late 1530s onwards that hint to the presence of viol music at the court of Lorraine, but seemingly without record of named players or any payments made for services rendered.

Six years later in 1536 Mathieu Lasson, *maistre des enfans* (master of the children) in Antoine's private chapel, was reimbursed for having arranged the repair of a set of viols, probably the same four bought in 1530:

To Lasson master of the children in the chapel of Monseigneur the Duke the sum of twenty-two frans six ecus money of Lorraine that he paid for having the viols repaired and the aforementioned same expense by the mandate of Monseigneur the Duke given (paid) at Bar the first day of September 1536 Here rendered with receipt for this xxii fran vi or.²⁶

Freedman included this reference in his thesis as evidence that viols were purchased by Lasson, but 'raccoustrer' is more accurately translated as 'to repair' or 'to mend'.

Twenty-two frans equates roughly to seventeen or eighteen livres tournois, which is, however, a large amount for any repair and it is likely that a purchase of instruments was involved in this transaction.²⁷ Lasson was connected in numerous references to viols and viol players during this period. Four years later Lasson was recorded as buying clothing for *enfans* and viol players:

To Lasson master of the children in the chapel of my said seigneur the Duke, the sum of six score (twenty) and seven (127) frans eight deniers money of Lorraine,

²⁶ 'A Lasson maistre des enfans en la chappelle de monseigneur le duc la somme de vingt deux frans six ecus monnoye de lorraine quil avoir paye pour avoir faict raccoustrer les vyolles et audites mesmes comptes par mandement de monseigneur le duc donne a bar le premier jour de septembre mil v^exxxvi icy rendu avec quittance pour ce xxii fran vi or'. Archives départementales de Merthe-et-Moselle, B. 1057.

²⁷ Freedman, 'Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine', 69. Freedman included a large amount of research on Lasson in his PhD thesis, including tables of all found archival references.

for items of woollen cloth that he bought and paid (for) for clothing the children singers and everything else needed for the current year, with also other items that similarly he provided for the viols, by the order of my said seigneur the Duke here given, notwithstanding that previously another one was made which might give better value for the abovementioned certified items of Monsieur the auditor given with receipt and certification the said vi^{xx} vii frs viii dn.²⁸

Was there a connection between Lasson, his duties in the chapel and viol playing? It was clear that before his death in 1544 Antoine gave Lasson the responsibility of looking after the private chapel and some musicians, including cultivating a viol consort from within, using gifted young singers. This trend continued as the title of Duke of Lorraine changed hands during the 1540s from François II, Antoine's son, to the young Charles III, born in 1545 and whose duchy was presided over by his mother, Christina of Denmark between 1545 and 1552. Children of the choir did receive instruction on musical instruments, and a reference from 1548 attests to this extra musical education:

Twenty francs given to Loys of Savoye singer and player of musical instruments so that he may buy a robe, and this in recompense for the pains he has taken to show the children of the choir how to play the viols and violins of Spain, and so that he will afterwards continue to give good service in relation to these children.²⁹

Who was this Loys de Savoie, instructor of the 'viols and violins of Spain'? It is most assuredly the same Louis de Savoie, viol player in François I's retinue who accompanied

²⁸ Richard Freedman, 'The Chansons of Mathieu Lasson: Music at the Courts of Lorraine and France, ca. 1530', *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 8, no. 3 (summer 1990), 320. 'A Lasson, maistre des enffans en la chapelle de mondict seigneur le duc, la somme de six vingtz sept frans huict deniers monnoye de Lorraine, pour parties de draps de layne qu'il a acheté payé pour habiller les petis enffans chantres de toutes choses quelconques l'année présente, avec aussi autres parties que pareillement il a fournyes pour les violles, par mandement de mondict seigneur le duc cy rendu, nonobstantz que par cy devant il en avoit esté faict un autre que par cestuy où il se trouveroit de meilleur valeur pour lesdictes parties certifiées de monsieur le controlleur général, avec quittance et avec certification lesdites vi^{xx} vii frs viii dn'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1063. I would like to thank Professor Philip Bennett for his assistance in the transcription of this record, and Dr Cristina Diego-Pacheco for providing a complete transcription of the record.

²⁹ 'Vingt francs donnez pour une fois a Loys de Savoye chante et joueur d'instrumentz de musique pour luy avoir une robe et ce en recompense de la peine que jusques icy il a prinse de monstrier les enfans de chœur de ceans a joueur d'instrumentz de violles et violons d'espaigne, et affin cy apres il face tousjours bon debvoir envers lesdicts enfans'. I would like to thank Dr Cristina Diego-Pacheco for identifying and transcribing this archival record. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, G. 77.

the king to the Conference of Cambrai in 1529.³⁰ By obtaining a professional viol player of the highest calibre to teach the children of the chapel, the Duke (most likely at the suggestion of Lasson or another professional musician among his household) can be without doubt seen as cultivating an in-house viol consort for instrumental music or self-accompaniment with existing resources by training the children to be specialised instrumental musicians.

A group of four children (*enfants*) were specially singled out on numerous occasions in the early 1550s within the expense records.³¹ These children, who were listed in reference to the purchase of clothing, their housing and other special treatment may have received a higher quality of musical education in order to sing four-part polyphonic music in the Duke's private chapel.³² Instruction on viols, which would have played similar or even the same polyphonic music sung for courtly entertainment would have been an excellent addition to their musical training, and their vocal talents would have lent itself naturally to solo singing while accompanied on the viol.

A similar arrangement of choirboy viol consorts have also been identified in England during the same period, where children from choirboy companies would perform as a viol consort for special occasions and in between theatrical acts. At St Paul's and Westminster choir schools the viol was established as an important part of the choirboy's education by the mid-sixteenth century.³³ In Scotland as well, archival references exist attesting to viol instruction for children. In 1541 John Fethy received

³⁰ Edmond van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le dix-septième siècle*; *American Musicological Society-Music Library Association Reprint Series*, vol. 4 (within the modern vol. 2) (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 189-90.

³¹ 'à Mathieu Lasson, maître de chapelle, pour l'entretienement des quatre petits chantres', 'To Mathieu Lasson, master of the chapel, for the housing of the four young singers', Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1092. Freedman cites two further examples on 23 and 30 June 1552 from the same annual accounts. Freedman, 'The Chansons of Mathieu Lasson', 321. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1092, 142^r.

³² I would like to thank Dr Cristina Diego-Pacheco for introducing this idea.

³³ Woodfield, *Viol*, 212-13.

money for viols and lessons for the boys within his choir.³⁴ Over eighty years later in 1626-27 three viols are also recorded as being purchased for choirboys at the cathedral in Rouen.³⁵

It is likely, then that a viol consort comprised of children from the ducal chapel choir (or even formerly of the choir) could explain why viols were purchased for the Duke, repairs were made, but no named viol players were listed in the annual expense records. Perhaps the Duke was trying to get double duty out of his employees, supplying instruments, clothing and instruction on a new fashionable instrument, without adding greater cost to the vast annual expenditure already in place.

The argument for child viol players in the court of Lorraine is also strengthened by expense records of the court of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, where Jehannin Beaulvins (Beauwins) was paid six sous per day in 1539 and 1543 as a *joueur de viole* as well as an *enffan de cuer* (choirboy).³⁶ Beauwins was one of two former choirboys whose instruction on the viol was supported by Mary of Hungary. They are documented as part of the chapel in 1536: 'deux plus grans enffans de ladicte chappelle nommez Guillaume Bruneau et hannekin bouwins' ('two older children of the said chapel named Guillaume Bruneau and Hannekin Bouwins').³⁷

Antoine's younger brother Jean, Cardinal de Lorraine, was also known for his great artistic patronage and kept musicians in his household. A series of documents identified by Freedman attests to the strong likelihood that viols were in Lorraine much earlier than records clearly indicated. These documents, none of which include household payment records, detail Jean de Lorraine's musical retinue through their performances

³⁴ A livery is given in 1541 to 'Schir John Fechyis children that plays on the viols'. Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*, vols. I-XIII, vol. VIII (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1882-1914), 54.

³⁵ 'trois violes achetées pour les enfants de choeur'. Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2609 (1626-27).

³⁶ Glenda Goss Thompson, 'Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1984), 151.

³⁷ Thompson, 'Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary', 141.

while visiting other courts.³⁸ As early as 1522 five instrumentalists were connected to Jean's household, and were given money to buy wine by Antoine de Lorraine while his brothers Jean and Louis, Bishop de Verdun and Count of Vaudémont, visited him in Neufchâtel.³⁹ Instrumentalists are recorded without specification of their instruments again in 1543 when four named players (Marc-Antoine Gayardel, Vincent Maudin, Cyprien Renelio and Michel Sauzel) receive the personal goods of a fifth named player, Thomas Roquadelle, by decree of François I through the *droit d'aubaine*, a law involving un-naturalised foreigners who died while in France.⁴⁰ Judging by their names, most of the band of five players seem to have been Italian. Is it possible they were viol players?

The likelihood of this group of musicians being viol players (or at least competent on bowed string instruments) strengthens when we consider the career path of one of the players after his appointment in the household of the Cardinal of Lorraine. By 1545, Marc-Antoine Gayardel had joined an established viol consort at the royal court of Henri VIII, where he was recorded as Mark Anthony Galliardello. Galliardello (or Galiardelo) was also recorded as coming from Brescia and seems to have had strong links to the Sephardic Jewish and Italian musical community flourishing at the English royal court during this period.⁴¹ The contract of employment for the English royal court dated to October 1545, however, names both Galliardello and George of Cremona (also contracted at the same time) as 'viallines', not viol players. This discrepancy is not to be taken too stringently, as George of Cremona was later recorded as a viol player as well.⁴²

³⁸ Freedman, 'Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine', 94-95, 97.

³⁹ 'A cinq joueurs d'instrumens que messeigneurs les cardinal et evesque de Verdun ont advenue avec eux. La somme de vingt florins deux frans piece à eulx ordonné pour leurs vin. Par mandement de mondict seigneur le duc. Donné au Neufchastel la vingtseptiesme jour de decembre mil v^c xxii. Icy redué avec quittance. Pour c: xl frans'. 'To five instrument players that messeigneurs the cardinal and bishop of Verdun brought with them. The sum of twenty florins two frans piece to them ordered for their wine. By the mandate of my said seigneur the Duke given (paid) at Neufchâtel the 27th day of December 1522. Here rendered with receipt. For this: 40 frans'. Freedman, 'Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine', 518. Archives départementales de Merthe-et-Moselle, B. 1028 fol. 89^r.

⁴⁰ Freedman, 'Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine', 102-03.

⁴¹ Peter Holman, 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 109 (1982-83), 42.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 45-46.

Some five years earlier in 1538 a consort of viols was recorded as part of Jean's travelling party when they received payment by Mary of Hungary, during a visit to Compiègne by François I on a diplomatic mission to ratify a treaty between the Empire and France. The payment in question specifically lists viols amongst Jean's party: 'Item the 21st of October paid to Master Rogier at Compiègne for delivering to the viol players of the cardinal of Lorraine 80 L'.⁴³ It is entirely possible that the groups of instrumentalists, named without detail before and after the Compiègne visit, were also viol consorts.

The court records of Mary of Hungary at the same time certainly document viol players as part of her household, and between 1531 and 1540 six musicians were listed as such – Guillaume Bruneau, Jehannin (Hannekin) Beauwins (a youth and mentioned above), Jehan Loys, Vincent Rigler, Oelrich Titler and possibly Jehannin de Sezille (Jehan Sicille).⁴⁴ It is very probable that during diplomatic visits the musicians of various courts spent time in the same spaces, for instance during the visit to Compiègne of 1538 where musicians in the households of Jean de Lorraine, Mary of Hungary and François I may have had the opportunity to interact on a musical and professional level. These musical groups may have been influenced by each other's musical performances and choices in repertoire. It is also very likely that when circumstances allowed, a certain amount of 'shop talk', or discussions of a professional nature would have taken place during these international meetings.

A further unknown number of viols were also bought in 1562 in the court of Charles III in Lorraine: '277 francs to the five violinists of Monseigneur, to buy trumpets, viols and

⁴³ 'Item le xxi^e d'octobre payé à Maistre Rogier à Compeigne pour delivrer aux Joueurs de vyolles du cardinal de Lorraine iii^{xx} L'. Freedman, 'Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine', 103-04, fn 44. Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3660, fols. 155^r-155^v.

⁴⁴ Thompson, 'Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary', 139.

other instruments of music for the service of the Monseigneur (Duke of Lorraine)'.⁴⁵ This last reference, to five violin players suggests a second possibility of how viol-playing existed at the court, but no players are recorded among the expenditure. Albert Jacquot wrote in his book, *La musique en Lorraine: étude retrospective d'après les archives locales*, that viols were the most common instrument found in the ducal court during the 1550s, and that they were also called 'violons'.⁴⁶ Indeed, the situation in the ducal court of Lorraine was probably one of many examples of nomenclature in archival records that has been encountered confusing actual events. It is important to note as well that the unrecorded viol consort was not mis-recorded as a group of violinists, for it is not until the mid 1550s that records listed *violons* amongst the Duke's household. What is important to note as well was the choice of spelling in some of the records from 1556 onwards. The term *violone* or *violonez* was written in conjunction with certain players. Was this a simple spelling discrepancy or in the use of a plural 'violins', was the scribe indicating that the musician played a range of bowed stringed instruments, or was he indicating a viol or violone?

In 1556 George le Moyne and Didier Vaucheret were in the Duke's household and made special requests for money during the year, including requesting funds to return from France to the service of the Duke of Lorraine.⁴⁷ Le Moyne named as *violonez* and

⁴⁵ 'deux cent soixante-seize francs aux cinq violins de monseigneur, pour acheter des trompes, violes et autres instruments de musique pour le service de monseigneur'. Published inventory Series B, Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1133.

⁴⁶ Jacquot, *La musique en Lorraine*, 51-52. Jacquot's assertion gives no archival evidence as proof to the viol's popularity in the 1550s, so this statement cannot be taken entirely at face value.

⁴⁷ 'A George le Moyne Joueur de Violone ____ la somme de cent frans quil a pleu a monseigneur de Vaudemont luy faire avancer pour ses gaiges de laidit annee mil v^e quinquante sept luy accorder au peine de sa fiancee en faisant ses traicte de mariaige appert ____ par le mandement donne a Nancy le xxii novembre mil v^e cinquante six icy rendu avec quictan C fran'. 'To George le Moyne violin (or violone?) player the sum of 100 frans that he requested monseigneur Vaudement advance him on his wages for 1547 grant to him for the efforts of his fiancée in making marriage arrangements ____ by the mandate given at Nancy the 22nd November 1546 Here rendered with receipt 100 fran'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1106 93^r. 'A Didier Vaucheret violon de monseigneur la somme de trente frans monnoie qui dessus que pareillement il a pleu a monseigneur de vaudemont luy accorder ceste fois de grace especialle pour son retourner au service de mondit seigneur estant en france appert par le mandement donne a Nancy. La premier jour de septembre mil v^elvi icy rendu avec quictance xxx frs'. 'A Didier Vaucheret violin of monseigneur the sum of 30 frans money that below likewise he requested of monseigneur de Vaudemont to grant him this time special grace for his return to the service of my said

violons and Vaucheret listed as *violon*. In the *despences* beginning in the year 1557 payment was made 'to his three violins'.⁴⁸ By 1559-60 Charles III had a group of bowed string players in steady employment, and the three violins (among others) are recorded by name:

To Pierre Collicquet [*violonez*] player the sum of 120 frans of said money for his wages ____ of this year To him paid by receipt and said rendered 120 fr.

To George le Moyne [*violonez*] player the aforesaid sum of 100 frans for his wages for the present year To him paid by receipt here rendered the said 100 fr.⁴⁹

To Mathieu Sannaige another violin the sum of 100 frans of the aforesaid money for his wages of the present year. To him paid by receipt here rendered the said 100 fr.

To Gilles Harent another violin a similar sum of 100 frans of the aforesaid money for his wages in ____ of the present year To him paid by receipt here rendered. The said 100 fr.

To Alan Moureau another violin player the same sum of 100 frans of the predicted money for his wages of this year To him paid by receipt here rendered 100 fr.⁵⁰

Seigneur being in France by the mandate given in Nancy. The first day of September 1546 Here rendered with receipt 30 frans'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1106, 105^r. 'A George le moyne joueur de violons en l'hostel de monseigneur la somme de vingt cinq frans monnoie de Lorraine qu'en semblable il a pleu a monseigneur de Vaudemont luy octroier ceste fois de grace especialle pour ____ et ____ des sommes quil fait ordinairement a mondit seigneur appert par le mandement donne a Nancy le xv^{ieme} jour february mil v^e lvi icy rendu avec quictanz lesdits xxv frs'. 'To George le Moyne violin player in the hotel de monseigneur the sum of 25 frans money of Lorraine that similarly he has requested of monseigneur de Vaudemont to grant him special grace to wave the amount that he ordinarily pays to monseigneur approved by the mandate given at Nancy the 25th day of February 1546 (1547 n.st.) Here rendered with receipt the said 25 frans'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1106, 113^v.⁴⁸ 'a ses trois violons'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Inventory for Series B, B. 1115.⁴⁹ 'A Piere Collicquet Joueur de violonez la somme de six vingts frans dite monnoye pour ses gaiges cestalz de ceste annee A luy paiey par quittance et rendu lesdits vi^{xx} fr'. 'A George le moyne joueur de violonez la somme de cent frans monnoye susdites pour ses gaiges de la presente annee A Luy paiey par quittance cy Rendue lesdits C fr'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1121, 90^r.⁵⁰ 'A Mathieu Sannaige autre violon la somme de cent frans dite monnoye pour ses gaiges de la presente annee. A Luy paiey par quittance cy Rendue lesdits C fr'. 'A Gilles Harent autre violon pareille somme de cent frans monnoye predite pour ses gaiges en estalz de la presente annee A luy paiey par quittance cy Rendu. Lesdits C fr'. 'A Alan Moureau autre joueur de violon semblable somme de cent frans predite monnoye pour ses gaiges de cestre annee A luy paiey par quittance cy Rendue lesdits C fr'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1121, 90^v.

To Allan Moureau Mathieu Sannaige and Gilles Harent violins of Monseigneur the sum of 60 frans money of Lorraine. They requested to her highness Madame to grant them this time special grace approved by the mandate given at Nancy the eighth day of March 1559 before Easter (1560 n.st.). With receipt here rendered the said 60 frs.⁵¹

Again George le Moyne was listed as *violonez* alongside Pierre Collicquet who was paid an additional 20 frans for his yearly wages. The initial five records above that list payment to individuals were within one page of each other in the *depenses*, indicating that the records were written within a relatively short space of time. It is possible, of course, that the scribe used different spellings on different days, but I would like to propose, however, that the term *violonez* meant a player of a range of sizes of bowed string instruments, possibly including viols. Moureau, Sannaige and Harent were separately and consistently recorded as *violon* players, and le Moyne and Collicquet were individually designated as *violonez* or *violons*, most likely meaning players of multiple violins. The reference to George le Moyne as a *joueur de violons* in 1556 could also have referred to his performance on a range of sizes. Following a similar line of argument as the term *joueur d'instruments*, *joueur de violonez* most likely indicated (in these cases) a musician who was proficient on different bowed string instruments including viol.

The following year the same musicians, Pierre Collicquet, George le Moyne, Gilles Harent, Allain Moureau and Mathieu are recorded as either *joueur de violonez*, or *joueur de violons*.⁵² In the expense records for the year beginning in 1561 the five players are grouped together as *violons* when they received compensation for costs that would have been incurred in following the Duke to Germany.⁵³

⁵¹ 'A Allan Moureau Mathieu Sannaige et Gilles Harent violonez de monseigneur la somme de soixante frans monnoye de Lorraine. Quil a pleu a laltesse de Madame leur donnee ceste foie de grace especialle appert par le mandement donne a Nancy le xiii^{ieme} jour de Marz mil v^e cinquante neuf avant pasques. Avec quittance cy Rendue lesdits lx frs'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1121, 116^r.

⁵² Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1126, 94^r - 94^v.

⁵³ 'Aux cinq violons du duc pour subvenir aux frais qu'ils pourraient faire à sa suite en son voyage d'Allemagne', 'To the Duke's five violins to meet the costs they could incur following him in his journey to Germany'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Inventory for Series B, B. 1130.

In the 1560s the group of violins increased to seven in 1563-64 and eight in 1567-68.⁵⁴ In 1581 a different scribe neatly arranged payments to musicians under the heading *joueurs d'instrumens*, which included one *espinette* player, four violins, a harp player and a cornemuse player. Later in the book of *depenses* in a section of wages pensions for the year 1582, special grace was awarded to 'Nicolas of Fevrance, the Monseigneur's violin,' 'to the Monseigneur's trumpets' and 'to the Monseigneur's violins'.⁵⁵

Viols are noticeably missing from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards in Lorraine, it was not until 1599 that a legal document created by a local notary suggested the viol was still being played in the area. The document in question details the accidental killing of 'Claude Thubion *violleur*' by Jacquemin Poincin over a disagreement over payment.⁵⁶ The document requested that Poincin be acquitted because he was an upstanding citizen without prior convictions.

The records of the court of Lorraine both hinted at and obscured a more detailed knowledge of specific music-making, musicians and instruments used in the court. Past scholarship has established the Dukes of Lorraine as patrons of music, with an established chapel and musicians in employment.⁵⁷ Archival documents attest that in the second quarter of the sixteenth century viols were bought and repaired at the court of Lorraine; clothes were bought for viol players, yet besides Loys de Savoie, the teacher of 'the viols and violins of Spain', modern scholarship may never establish who these viol players were, or if they were primarily adults or children. The record in which Jacques le Bel was paid for bringing four viols to the court from Paris can still be considered one of the earliest known records of viols in sixteenth-century France.

⁵⁴ Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Inventory for Series B, B. 1138, 1148.

⁵⁵ 'Nicolas de Fevrance violon de monseigneur', 'Aux trompettes de monseigneur' and 'Aux violone (violonez?) de monseigneur'. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1191.

⁵⁶ Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 70, 19^v – 20^v. Consulted in microfilm format.

⁵⁷ See Freedman, 'Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine'.

The French royal court

Records detailing information on musicians in the static and travelling royal courts have been the subject of much research by contemporary and past scholars. It is the work of three authors, Jeanice Brooks, Christelle Cazaux and Isabelle Handy, however, that assemble the extensive archival evidence of musicians, music and music-making in French sixteenth-century courts and has been of the most assistance in researching use of the viol in the French royal court.⁵⁸ In the late nineteenth century, Edmond van der Straeten identified a consort of four viol players as part of François I's party at the Conference of Cambrai, beginning in 1529. It is recorded in the *comptes* of Jean de Marnix that 'quatre joueurs de vyole du roi de France' played as part of dinner entertainment on 10 August. Louis de Savoie (as mentioned above teaching the chapel children in Lorraine) was part of that group.⁵⁹

From 1529 onwards Cazaux identified records of *violon* players and *joueurs d'instruments* in the royal court - Pierre de la Planche, Jehan Fourcade and Jean Henry were listed as *violons* in 1529, and Nicolas Pironet (Pirouet?) was listed as a fife and violin player in the same year and later flute player at the court of the Duke of Orléans in 1540-41.⁶⁰ During the 1530s there exist payment records of a number of musicians recorded simply as *joueur d'instruments*, many of whom later are listed more specifically as viol or violin players. The question of the meaning of the term *joueur d'instruments* was explored earlier in this chapter, and while consorts of cornet or sackbut would also have been played by multi-talented *joueurs d'instruments*, it is highly probable that several of these musicians entertained as a viol or mixed consort when requested and/or appropriate.

⁵⁸ Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Christelle Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}* (Paris: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2002). Isabelle Handy, *Musiciens au temps des derniers Valois* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2008).

⁵⁹ Van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, 189-90.

⁶⁰ Cazaux, *La musique*, 325-26, 335.

In his article, ‘La musique de la chambre et de l’écurie sous le règne de François I^{er}’, Henry Prunières wrote that musicians termed *joueurs d’instruments* in the royal *écurie* played ‘hautbois’, ‘sacquebuttes’ and ‘violons’. In the late 1520s wind instruments were predominantly played by Italian musicians, while bowed string players were almost entirely French. Of these distinct groups, however, he argued that it became increasingly difficult to distinguish who played what instrument within the *écurie*, and during the 1530s French *joueurs d’instruments* were recorded amongst the Italian wind consorts.⁶¹ In 1535, for instance Pierre d’Auxerre, a long-time viol player in the French court, was recorded as an *hautbois*. Two years later Jehan Fourcade and Pierre d’Auxerre return alongside a third player: ‘Honorables men Jehan Fourcadde, Pierre d’Auxerre and Nicolas de Lucques, all violins and instrumental players [*joueurs d’instruments*] of the King our sire’.⁶² They are later recorded repeatedly as viol players in the royal courts. The long musical careers of both of these players are explored in greater detail below.

The first musician in existing records to have been recorded specifically as a viol player seems to have been Jean (Jehan) Bellac, who was listed as a *violiste de la chambre* from 1547-50.⁶³ In the service of François I as a *viollon* from before 1529 until his ‘new’ role as viol player in 1547 in the court of Henri II, Bellac seems to have taken on more responsibility in the short-lived court of François II in 1559 and was given a stipend to maintain a servant to carry and look after his viols. Just how many viols this servant looked after is unknown. Bellac’s wages in c. 1560 were 200 livres tournois per annum, with a further 100 livres tournois for his servant, attesting to the high esteem with which Bellac was regarded.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Henry Prunières, ‘La musique de la chambre et de l’écurie sous le règne de François I^{er}’, *L’Année musicale* (1911), 241-43.

⁶² ‘Honorables homes Jehan Fourcadde, Pierre d’Auxerre et Nicolas de Lucques, tous violons et joueurs d’instruments du roy nostre sire...’. Cazaux, *La musique*, 280. Archives nationales, MC ET XXXVI 2 (21 March 1537).

⁶³ Cazaux, *La musique*, 324-25.

⁶⁴ ‘...pour la norriture et despence d’un sommier qui porte les violles’. ‘For food and expense of a porter that carries the viols’. Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 427.

Although bowed string musicians such as the ‘viollons du roy’ tended to be the domain of French players, it is possible that Bellac was Italian, and was also the musician Jehan de Bella, *joueur de rebec du roi, joueur du viole et de violon*, and *chantre du roi* in Blois (in the Loire Valley, location of the Renaissance Château de Blois) between 1543 and 1557.⁶⁵ Like de Bella, Bellac was also recorded in François II’s *etat de maison* as a *chantres et autres joueurs d’instruments* alongside his role as viol player.⁶⁶ Further strengthening the case that Bellac and de Bella were the same person, in 1546 Bellac was given the title of ‘sergent royal au baillage de Blois’, connecting him to the same location and musical instruments as de Bella.⁶⁷

In Blois, Madeleine and Jean-Paul Cabarat have identified and listed musicians documented in sixteenth-century archives in their book, *Le Chant d’une ville: La musique à Blois du XVe au XIX siècle*.⁶⁸ Jehan de Bella was the only musician specifically listed as a viol player, but as has already been established earlier in the chapter, musicians so described as *joueur d’instruments* or even *violon* could have played the viol as well. Some of the most likely candidates for possible viol players in Blois around the middle of the sixteenth century include Pierre Janvier (1562) *joueur d’instruments*; Barthélémy Potet (1558-62) *joueur d’instruments*; Denis Prevost (1563) *joueur d’instruments*; Nicaise Soullonneau (1559-62) *joueur d’instruments* and Jacques Thullier (1552) *violon de Monseigneur de Vendôme*.⁶⁹ One *joueur d’instruments* who was also specifically recorded as a viol player was Jacques Anthoine or Ansoyne called ‘la Chappelle’ or ‘La Capelle’. From 1580 until 1611 he was listed as a *joueur d’instruments* in Blois, but in 1584 he was recorded as ‘the harpist and and violist of the Chambre’ at the French royal court.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Cabarat, *Le chant*, 325.

⁶⁶ Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 427.

⁶⁷ Cazaux, *La musique*, 325.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 325 fn 44.

⁶⁹ Cabarat, *Le chant*, 335, 341, 342, 344.

⁷⁰ ‘Le harpiste et violiste de la Chambre’. Handy, *Les musiciens*, 136. Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 404, 406.

Nearby in Tours records exist much earlier of groups of musicians playing for Antoine de Lorraine, François I and for local festivities. Between April and June of 1510 Antoine de Lorraine made several payments during his trip to Blois, in which four players from Troyes were paid to provide dinner entertainment. Similar payments are recorded ‘to six trumpets’, ‘to trumpets and oboe players’, ‘to three instrument players from Lyon’ ‘to other instrument players...from Lyon’, ‘to Paulle and to a tabourin (player) of Madame Claude’s’, ‘to a young child lute player’ and ‘to the abbot, player of instruments’ for providing dinner music.⁷¹

Also in Tours, a number of references exist to musicians entering into contract with each other in order to play as a group. These documents, found in the *minutier* of local notaries throughout the sixteenth century, detail the terms of agreements made primarily between players of the violin and/or shawm [*hautbois*] who planned to entertain at banquets, weddings, events and masquerades as a group. In 1529 Jehan Boullay, *maître joueur d’instruments*, in Tours entered into contract with:

...honorable man Augustin de Champaigne, player of instruments before the King, Pierre Durant, Simon Gerbier, Orphéus Hector, all from Tours, to play their instruments, both at weddings, banquets and any assemblies; they will share the profits and gains that they will make, all together or separately, by two or by three, promising to make and hold good, just and loyal accounts from one to another, from today until the next feast day of Saint-André.⁷²

Augustin Champaigne from Verona was recorded as a cornet player in the royal court as early as 1516, and it was probable that the contracted group of 1529 played a good portion of their event music on cornets. It was a practical choice for large and/or open-

⁷¹ Freedman, ‘Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine’, 516-17. ‘A quatre joueurs d’instruments de la ville de Troyes qui sont venuz sonner au soupper de mondict seigneur le dimenche xiiii^e jour d’avril en deux florins d’or. Pour ce: lv sols tournois’. ‘Aux six trompettes’, ‘aux trompettes et joueurs de haulboys’, ‘a trois joueurs d’instrumens de Lyon’, ‘a autres joueurs d’instrumens...à Lyon’, ‘a Paulle et a ung taburin de Madame Claude’, ‘a ung petit enfant joueur de lucs’ and ‘a l’abbe joueur d’instrumens’. Archives départementales, Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1012, fol. 126^v-36^v.

⁷² ‘honorable homme Augustin Champaigne, joueur d’instruments devant le roi, Pierre Durant, Simon Gerbier, Orphéus Hector, demeurans à Tours, pour joueur de leurs instruments, tant à nopces, banquets et assemblées quelconques; ils partageront les profits et gains qu’ils pourront faire, tous ensemble ou séparément, par deux ou par trois, promettant d’en faire et tenir bon, juste et loyal compte l’un à l’autre, d’aujourd’hui à la fête de Mgr Saint-André prochain venant’. E. Giraudet, *Les artistes Tourangeaux* (Tours: Imprimerie Rouillé-Ladevèze, 1885), 38. From the *minutes* of Étienne Viau, royal notary in Tours.

air events – capable of projecting at high volume, cornets were extremely fashionable and were able to play polyphonic consort music of the period.⁷³ This, however, would not have excluded the possibility of viols amongst the group’s musical armoury. Alongside Champagne, Jehan Boullay (also spelled Bouley) also entered into the employment of the royal court of François I some five years later in 1534, taking one of two places made available by the retirement, death or re-employment elsewhere of Pierre de la Planche and Nicolas Pirouet (Pironet?), both violins in the king’s *écurie*.⁷⁴ As records have proven in both *inventaires après décès* and *depenses*, a *maître joueur d’instruments* would have been proficient on many instruments, and the contracted 1529 consort of *maîtres joueurs* Champagne, Boullay, Durant, Gerbier and Hector would have undoubtedly allowed for some form of bowed string consort, including the new and stylish viol.

Loys Labbé, *maître joueur d’instruments* in the parish of Saint-Venant in Tours, was recorded in two acts of association with other master instrumental players at the end of the century. On 16 December 1599 he was recorded with René Deshays, Jehan Bourgeois and Laurent Léger in a contractual agreement in which the four players arranged to play banquets, weddings and other events. Some four months later in April 1600 Labbé left this consort to join another group of *maîtres joueurs d’instruments* including Jehan David, Julien Leroy, Jehan Bourgeois, Pierre Badouille and Étienne Crochet. This group of six musicians were recorded in the *minutier* of notary Pierre Coynard in a contract promising and committing themselves to playing ‘viollons’, ‘violles’ and ‘hautboys’ within this group, sharing all profits equally.⁷⁵

Alongside Jehan Bellac, Pierre d’Auxerre was the other main named viol player in the royal court during the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century. Also called Pierre de Champgilbert, Campguilbert, Campguillebert or Damigilbert, d’Auxerre was connected to the courts of France for almost fifty years as a *joueur de violon*, *joueur de*

⁷³ Prunières, ‘La musique’, 232.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 245.

⁷⁵ Giraudet, *Les artistes Tourangeaux*, 239. From the *minutes* of Pierre Coynard, royal notary in Tours.

viole, joueur d'instruments and *chantre*, among other titles. From 1529 to 1534 he was listed as a *violon de l'écurie* in the court of François I. He was sent to Cambrai with other musicians in 1529 after the 'Paix des Dames' to entertain at the festivities of Louise of Savoie and Marguerite of Austria. In 1534 as mentioned above he was recorded as a wind player in a predominantly Italian group, and by the following year he had taken the pseudonym 'd'Auxerre', presumably making reference to his connection to Auxerre, a town in French Burgundy near to Sens.⁷⁶ From 1540-45 he was employed as *maître* of a group of *chantres et joueurs d'instruments* and *maître des enfants* in the chapelle of Francis I's son Charles, duc d'Orléans, but after the Duke's death it seems he returned to the royal court. By 1547 he was recorded as a *joueur de viole* alongside Jean Bellac in the court of Henri II, a position he held among other titles for the next twenty-five years.⁷⁷ D'Auxerre received 200 livres for his yearly wage in 1559-60, and his wages remained at the same level when recorded in 1572.⁷⁸ He was last recorded as a 'joueur d'instruments' two years later in 1574.⁷⁹

Catherine de Médicis also supported the presence of viols at court, as it is recorded in 1556 that an Italian valet de chambre within her household by the name of Germain Christofle of Mantua travelled to Ferrara to obtain six viols at the price of approximately 33 livre tournois each, no doubt fine instruments for her personal musicians. Within the same record the valet was reimbursed for the purchase of lutes and strings for viols, lutes and violins.⁸⁰

As established at the court of Lorraine and that of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, the French royal court also cultivated talented instrumental players with the

⁷⁶ Cazaux, *La musique*, 339.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 324.

⁷⁸ Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 418.

⁷⁹ Handy, *Les musiciens*, 371.

⁸⁰ 'A Germain C(hr)istof(le) dict de Mantoue, valet de chambre ordina(air)e de ladicte Dame, la somme de 310 l.t. à luy ordonnée pour son remboursement des parties cy après decl(aré)es assavoir: 147 l. 10 s.t. pour six violles q(u'i)l a acheptées dans Ferrare à raison de unze escuz à 45 s.t. pièce pour ch(asc)une violle...et 33 l. 10 s.t. pour plusieurs cordes, ta(n)t de violles q(ue) de lucz, baillez ausdictz viollons'. Handy, *Les musiciens*, 163-64. AN KK 118, fol 36. Transcription Handy.

‘petits chantres’ (choirboys) of the chamber and chapel choirs. Normally beginning instruction in the ‘Chapelle de musique’ and at the ‘Sainte Chapelle’, these young musicians refined their talents in the *chambre*.⁸¹ One such musician, Guillaume Gendrot, participated in the funeral ceremonies of Henri II in 1559 as a choirboy. In 1566 he was able to benefit from a position left vacant by the death of viol player Michel Le Febvre, called Michellet, some years previous in 1560. Now a young adult, Gendrot was recorded as a *chantre* and *joueur de violles* in the *chambre* and paid 200 livres tournois for his service.⁸²

A strong tie existed between singers and instrumental positions, and the connection of esteemed viol players such as Bellac and d’Auxerre to *chantre* roles in the royal court suggests that it is probable that these musicians would have made use of both talents simultaneously. There would have existed enough bowed string instrument players in the royal *chambre*, *écurie* and Catherine de Médicis’ retinue for consorts of viols and/or violins to play instrumental music, including instrumental versions of vocal music. It is, however, also very likely that Bellac and d’Auxerre used viols to accompany themselves in solo performances of vocal music.

In his 1528 book, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, Baldesar Castiglione attests this practice in Italy, where he comments that truly beautiful music consists ‘...in fine singing...and still more in singing to the accompaniment of the viola’. Speaking through his character Federico, Castiglione further remarks that ‘...above all, singing poetry accompanied by the viola seems especially pleasurable, for the instrument gives the words a really marvellous charm and effectiveness’.⁸³

⁸¹ Ibid., 145.

⁸² Ibid., 147. Archives nationales, KK 133B fol 11v.

⁸³ Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, translated and with introduction by George Bull (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1976, reprint), 120. Translation Bull. ‘Bella musica, - rispose messer Federico, - parmi il cantar bene a libro sicuramente e con bella maniere; ma ancor molto più il cantare alla viola...’. ‘Ma sopra tutto parmi gratissimo il cantare alla viola per recitare; il che tanto di venustà ed efficacia aggiunge alle parole, che è gran maraviglia’. James Haar, ‘The Courtier as Musician’, *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, edited by Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 182.

Castiglione continues his commentary on the suitability of keyboard instruments due to their perfect consonances before declaring:

And no less delightful is the playing of a quartet, with the viols producing music of great skill and suavity. The human voice adds ornament and grace to all these instruments, with which I think it is good enough if our courtier has some acquaintance (though the more proficient he is the better) without concerning himself greatly with those which both Minerva and Alcibiades rejected, because it seems they have something repulsive about them. Then as to the occasions when various kinds of music should be performed, I would instance when a man finds himself in the company of dear and familiar friends, and there is no pressing business on hand. But above all, the time is appropriate when there are ladies present; for the sight of them softens the hearts of those who are listening, makes them more susceptible to the sweetness of the music, and also quickens the spirit of the musicians themselves.⁸⁴

While Castiglione wrote of how the presence of women improved the experience of listening or making music, he commented at other times in *Il Libro del Cortegiano* on the effects of music on women, whose ‘tender and gentle souls are very susceptible to harmony and sweetness’.⁸⁵ This emotional effect of music is very rarely mentioned in connection to the viol in sixteenth century poetry or prose; the lute or Grecian lyre of Antiquity was more commonly the instrument of choice. Louise Labé, however, echoed the emotional (and indeed erotic) effects of music and viol-playing in a sonnet of his 1555 work *Euvres*, in which a woman describes her beloved:

Oh smile, oh brow, hair, arms, hands and fingers:
Oh plaintive lute, viol, bow and voice:

⁸⁴ Castiglione, *Courtier*, 120-1. ‘E non meno diletta la musica delle quattro viole da arco, la quale è soavissima ed artificiosa. Dà ornamento e grazia assai la voce umana a tutti questi instrumenti, de’ quali voglio che al nostro cortegiano basti aver notizia; e quanto più però in essi sarà eccellente, tanto sarà meglio, senza impacciarsi molto di quelli che Minerva rifiutò ed Alcibiade, perché pare che abbiano del schifo. Il tempo poi nel quale usar si possono queste sorti di musica estimo io che sia, sempre che l’omo si trova in una domestica e cara compagnia, quando altre facende non vi sono; ma sopra tutto conviensi in presenza di donne, perché quegli aspetti indolciscono gli animi di chi ode e più i fanno penetrabili dalla suavità della musica, e ancor svegliano i spiriti di chi la fa; piacemi ben, come ancor ho detto, che si fugga la moltitudine, e massimamente degli ignobili’. Baldesar Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, edited by Giulio Pretri (Torino: Einaudi, 1965), 108-09. Accessed digitally, http://www.letteraturaitaliana.net/pdf/Volume_4/t84.pdf.

⁸⁵ Castiglione, *Courtier*, 94. ‘...gli animi delle quali, teneri e molli, facilmente sono dall’armonia penetrati e di dolcezza ripieni’. Castiglione, *Cortegiano*, 78.

So many torches to enflame a woman!⁸⁶

These allusions to the importance of playing musical instruments as a courtier and the suitability of singing while being accompanied by the ‘viola’ declared by Castiglione’s characters in *Il Libro del Cortegiano* certainly would have held some influence within the French court as a benchmark for how one should comport oneself as ‘the perfect courtier’. The term ‘viola’ undoubtedly meant a bowed string instrument, perhaps used as a generic term to mean bowed string instruments of the viol and violin family. In the second half of the century the *lire*, a bowed string instrument, became a popular choice alongside the lute to accompany the recitation or singing of poetry and verse, and this instrument is examined in more depth at the end of this chapter.

Other regional use of the viol in court, city and private music-making

In his book, *La musique en Provence et le conservatoire de Marseille*, André Gouirand identified a carnival festival period before Lent in 1549 n.st. during which there were so many balls and musical events that musicians had to be brought in from the surrounding regions.⁸⁷ The document in question, dated 18 January 1549 n.st. stipulated that the balls in question were to be held approximately two months after the act was written, hopefully allowing enough time for enough musicians to be found. The *comptes* from 1548 do not extend past December of 1548, and *comptes* for 1549 unfortunately appear not to survive, thus keeping the modern scholar in the dark as to what instruments were used in these musical events. As surely as the entertainment would have included dance music, it is possible that consorts of wind and string instruments were among the paid

⁸⁶ ‘O ris, ô front, cheveux, bras, mains et doigts: \ O lut pleintif, viole, archet et vois: \ Tant de flambeaux pour ardre une femelle!’ . Carla Zecher, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Art and Poetry in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 132. Zecher translation. From Louise Labé, *Oeuvres complètes*, edited by François Rigot (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), sonnet 2, lines 9-11.

⁸⁷ ‘En 1548, à Marseille, les bals du carnaval furent si nombreux qu’il fallut prendre ses précautions pour s’assurer des instrumentistes menant la danse; et encore dut-on avoir recours à des musiciens demandés aux pays environnants. Acte du 18^e Janvier 1548. Me de Laget’. ‘In 1548 in Marseille, carnival balls were so numerous that it was necessary to take precautions to assure that instrumentalists lead the dances, and so they had to resort to requesting musicians from surrounding regions’. André Gouirand, *La musique en Provence et le conservatoire de Marseille* (Marseille: 1908), 34.

entertainment that provided music for the guests. At this point a very practical, if not speculative question needs to be posed: If no records exist listing the musicians and more specifically possible viol players, does this mean that viol players didn't play at these events?

Viol players also were connected to theatrical events. In Amiens in Picardy a company lead by Roland Guinet played 'moralités, farces, jeu de viole et de musique' for ten days in 1559. The next year the town council of Amiens gave another troupe permission to perform 'morality plays, historical plays, comedies and viols'.⁸⁸ In Lyon Tristan Dronin was recorded as a *violeur* in 1557 and a *joueur d'instruments* on 1 May 1569.⁸⁹

The lyre in Renaissance France: a viol by another name or another instrument entirely?

While record keeping in the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century abounds in inconsistent nomenclature in the use of terms such as 'violon', 'violonez' and 'joueur d'instruments' to mean viol, by the 1560s another term appears in parallel that may have also been used to designate instruments of the viol or violone family – the 'lyre' or 'lire'.

The lyre was known for its use in Ancient Greece to accompany songs and the recitation of poetry. Throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance its connection to this ancient musical and cultural heritage associated the lyre with musical order and the highest forms of artistic expression. Frequently represented in the ancient plucked form in the hands of Apollo during the sixteenth century, instruments such as the viol and viola da braccio began to replace the lyre in allegorical scenes, maintaining a connection to the ideals of antiquity while introducing contemporary instruments into an understood visual language.

⁸⁸ 'moralitez, histories, farces et violles'. Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 69-70.

⁸⁹ Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 291.

In her book, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Art and Poetry in Renaissance France*, Carla Zecher proposes that the term lyre could have indicated a generic term for a member of the viol family. She questions however whether or not the viol as a bowed string instrument would have been practical for use as an instrument of self-accompaniment.⁹⁰ Jeanice Brooks proposes that it may have actually signified the lirone, a larger instrument similar to the lira da braccio, played ‘a gamba’ and consisting of between nine and twenty strings.⁹¹ The lirone, sized between the bass and tenor viol made use of drone strings and could be played in upwards of twenty different tunings that would complement narrative poetry and chansons. I am in agreement with Zecher’s questioning and Brooks’s assertions – the use of an instrument such as the lirone, with its lute-like plucked possibilities afforded a greater range of accompaniment options suitable for the individual musician.

Brooks further asserts the likelihood of the term ‘lyre’ or ‘lire’ to denote the lirone specifically (rather than the viol) in the second half of the sixteenth century by quoting Vigenbre’s 1578 publication *Les images ou tableaux de platte-peinture de Philostrate Lemnien Sophiste*:

...after remarking that many scholars claim that the ancient lyre and cithara were the same instrument, Vigenbre says that others think the ancient lyre was like the modern lire, “la lyre propre, celle dis-je de maintenant, faite A maniere de violle qui se joue avec l’archet” (the real lyre, I mean the lyre of today, made in the manner of a viol and played with a bow).⁹²

In his comprehensive work *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636, Marin Mersenne included an entry on the ‘lyre’, saying it was not greatly different from the viol, but with a larger neck played more in the manner of a lute or theorbo (see fig. 1 in Appendix III). The sound of the lyre, he continues, has a languishing quality that was correct for inspiring

⁹⁰ Zecher, *Sounding Objects*, 25-26.

⁹¹ Jeanice Brooks, ‘O quelle armonyne’: Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France’, *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 10 fn. 18. Erin Headley, ‘Lirone’, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed December 30, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16750>).

⁹² Brooks, ‘O quelle armonyne’, 10 fn 18.

devotion, accompanying the voice and recitations, and that there was no better instrument to represent the music of Orpheus and antiquity.⁹³ Mersenne notes that the lyre was not commonly played in France (during the first half of the seventeenth century), but makes a distinction between the lyre played in Italy (*lira da braccio*) and the lyre of France, which was held between the legs like a viol.⁹⁴ The lyre's descriptions given also closely resemble the English 'lyra viol' of the seventeenth century, but it is obvious that the influence was in the opposite direction, from the *lirone* in the sixteenth century to the lyra viol.

It is also likely that this was the form of the lyre that was used in the fête de Bayonne in 1565, used in a performance on 25 June by musicians representing knights from Great Britain and Ireland to settle a 'dispute' over the merits of Virtue and Love, sung in alternative stanzas. The musicians included two violinists, known to be Balthazar de Beaujoyeux and Dominic d'Avon, two lute and two lyre players. On the side of Great Britain was the king's celebrated lutenist, Guillaume de Boulanger, sieur de Vaumesnil.⁹⁵ 'Debating' for Ireland was 'Cornille' (Courville), *joueur de lire*.⁹⁶

Joachim Thibault de Courville, called Cornille or Cournille, was also mentioned that year in Charles IX's accounts of the Argenterie, where money was spent on cloth for costumes for the fête de Bayonne.⁹⁷ Some seven years later on 6 and 7 October 1572 in two identical records, Cornille was given a gift to continue the writing of a musical composition:

⁹³ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique. Où il est traité des Consonances, des Dissonances, des Genres, des Modes, de la Composition, de la Voix, des Chants, & de toutes sortes d'Instrumens Harmoniques* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, 1636), 204, 206.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 217.

⁹⁵ Brooks, 'O quelle armony', 24.

⁹⁶ Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, eds., *The royal tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: festivals and entries, 1564-6* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 46-48.

⁹⁷ Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 450.

To give him the means to complete the composition of music started by him for singing in several voices in verse in rhythm and metre which will be recited on the lyre and the lute.⁹⁸

At the time Courville was termed a player of the 'lira da braccio', and was gifted 125 livre tournois to complete the composition.⁹⁹ In 1577 Courville was listed as a *maître des enfants de la chambre*, a post that may have allowed Courville to pass on his musical training on bowed string instruments to the *petits chantres du chambre*.¹⁰⁰

In Courville's *inventaire après décès* of 1581, several sets of music books were noted as belonging to him, held at the home of Jean Oudeau, *procurer au Châtelet* and tutor to Courville's four children. Five collections of part books (four sets of five-part music and one of six-part music) are recorded, covered in leather, parchment and vellum, and range in price from fifteen sols tournois to one écu d'or.¹⁰¹

From the late 1560s onwards reference to the use of the lyre in connection to the lute to accompany verse in stanzas can be found in the poetry of Pierre de Ronsard, composed to commemorate specific events. For the baptism of the son of the secretary of state Nicolas de Neufville, Sieur de Villeroy in 1567, it seems two musicians sang alternate stanzas with lyre accompaniment, paying homage to the ladies of the banquet. When the work was later published as 'Autant qu'on voit aux cieux' in 1569, Ronsard included the description, 'Stanzas quickly written for playing on the lyre, one player responding to the other'.¹⁰² A second poem by Ronsard, 'Le soleil et nostre roy' sung for carnival festivities at court in 1571, again connects the lyre and the lute together in recitative

⁹⁸ 'pour luy donner moyen de parachever la composition de musique par luy commencee pour chanter a plusieurs voix de vers en rhithme et mesurez qui se reciteront sur la lyre et le luth'. Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 451-52. It's likely these two documents were just one record, copied in different treasury account books by the scribe; the wording is identical, except for the spelling of one word. They are held in the Archives nationales and BnF.

⁹⁹ Handy, *Les musiciens*, 138.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 151.

¹⁰¹ Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du minutier central des notaires de Paris: Ronsard et ses amis* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1985), 162-63. MC ET XXXIII, 194 (23 September 1581).

¹⁰² 'Stances proutement faites pour jouer sur la Lyre, un joueur repondant à l'autre', Brooks translation. Brooks, 'O quelle armony', 24.

accompaniment, giving the option of using either two lute or two lyre players. This manuscript version also describes the grand scene in which the two lyre players are seated on a chariot, and play before the king.¹⁰³

From the last few examples through the 1560s and 1570s a strong connection has been made in use and context to the lute. But what of practical aspects of the lyre, who played it? It appears that in payment records, both viol and lute players played the lyre. Jehan Fourcade, called 'Portet' in his later years, had a long career in the French royal courts. Spanning some seven decades beginning some time before 1529, Fourcade was last recorded merely as *Portet violle* in 1584.¹⁰⁴ Unlike some *joueurs d'instruments*, Fourcade was never recorded as having been employed with any type of instrument other than bowed strings, which, indeed the lyre was. Listed as a *violon* from 1529 through 1568, in 1575 Fourcade was termed a *joueur d'instruments*, making a handsome yearly wage of 240 livres.¹⁰⁵ Between 1580 and 1584 Fourcade was recorded as both a *joueur de lire* and a *joueur de viuolle*.¹⁰⁶ At the time of his death on 20 February 1603, he was listed as a 'joueur de violle'.¹⁰⁷

Another musician in the royal court, Girard de Beaulieu was recorded as a *chantre et joueur d'instruments* in 1572, as well as a *joueur de lyre devant sa Magesté* in 1577. In the same year his wife, Violante Doria, was named in royal account records, and in the following year Beaulieu and his wife were given 1,000 livres in addition to their wages with the description, 'Beaulieu Queen's valet lyre player before her Majesty and his

¹⁰³ 'Comparaison du soleil et du Roy faicte par stances pour estre recitee par deux joueurs de lire ou de luth qui respondront l'un à l'autre, lesquelz seront assis dedans le chariot devant sa Majeste'. 'Comparison of the sun and the king constructed in stanzas to be sung by two lire or lute players who will answer one another, who will be seated in a chariot in front of his Majesty'. Brooks translation. Brooks, 'O quelle armonye', 24, fn 53.

¹⁰⁴ Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 406.

¹⁰⁵ Cazaux, *La musique*, 325. Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 478.

¹⁰⁶ Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 402-06.

¹⁰⁷ Handy, *Les musiciens*, 392. BnF, ms. Clair 1216, fol. 14v.

wife'. Some six years later in 1584 the couple were designated 'musicians and lute players'.¹⁰⁸

It appears that with a physical structure in close proximity to that of the viol, and a musical use and playing technique that incorporated the accompaniment styles of the lute, the lyre relied on the technique and mastery of both types of string musicians – plucked and bowed.

Conclusion

Surviving archival records point to c. 1530 when the viol begins to appear by name in French expense records, first in ducal court of Lorraine and much later in the royal court. For the decades preceding these incontestable records of written evidence, it would be short-sighted to maintain that the viol was not seen and heard in France, at least in certain circles. The French royal court, in its travels and interactions with foreign cultures through diplomatic negotiations and spectacular fêtes, would have been host to a grand array of musical entertainment, its emissaries witness to musical and artistic creativity of the highest quality across Europe. The request of Cesare Borgia in 1498 to bring a viol consort with him to France attests to experiences of the viol in French courtly culture, or of visiting French encounters in Italy. As musical sophistication was considered a reflection of an excellent education and cultural refinement, the presence of this new fashionable instrument in the courts of Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, Spain or England would not have gone unnoticed at court, and it is more likely the recorders of this history – the scribes, notaries and accountants – that in their choice of wording or omission entirely, shroud actual events in a veil of uncertainty.

These administrative employees were nevertheless as essential then to bookkeeping as they are today to historical research, and without their records modern scholarship would

¹⁰⁸ 'Beaulieu Queen's valet lyre player before her Majesty and his wife', 'musiciens et joueurs de luth'. Brooks, 'O quelle armony', 10, 61.

not be able to recount a fraction of current knowledge of the period. In this chapter, the term 'joueur d'instruments' has been reclaimed from disinterested generality, proposing instead that it was often used to more aptly describe the multi-faceted roles musicians played within a household.

Many professional instrumental musicians working for royal or ducal courts in the first half of the sixteenth century may also have had to change their working relationship with music, or were trained in different circumstances than the generations that came before. With a meteoric increase in the amount of music being published through the first half of the sixteenth century, instrumental musicians who played contrapuntal music in consort form would have had to have read music to keep up with the most up to date, fashionable music that was being produced at the time. Performance without music would have undoubtedly been the norm, but the ability to read music would have assisted the professional instrumental musician in the quick preparation of more complicated repertoire. Further strengthening this argument is the evidence that choirboys were recruited to play viols after they were no longer able to sing in the children's choir. Years of musical instruction were put to good use, and the four-part chansons that were fashionable during the period on were now (with some training) as easily played on the viol.

Throughout the second quarter of the sixteenth century it seems there was a growing demand for viol music at royal and ducal courts, satisfied in the case of the duchy of Lorraine with the re-training of young in-house musicians with pre-existing knowledge and experience of polyphonic music of the period. At the royal court, the term *joueur d'instruments* has been argued in this chapter to attest to the multi-faceted nature of music-making for professionals of an ever-changing craft, required by necessity to be flexible, adaptable and change with the fashions of the day.

Heading toward the mid-point of the century, awareness and interest in the viol also permeated French society through its use in pageantry and celebration, through an

increased interest by amateur music enthusiasts and through its representation in visual media of the period. The next chapter, Chapter Three, examines the appearance of the viol in French art, exploring its allegorical and religious associations, foreign connections and physical depictions.

Chapter Three: The Viol in Sixteenth-Century French Visual Media

A study of any musical instrument from a cultural or social perspective would be incomplete without considering artistic representations found in a myriad of different visual media. Inaccurate and suggestive or detailed and considered, images of the viol add an essential and predominantly unreported aspect to the viol's history in sixteenth-century France. The images of viols discussed in this chapter and in the appendices are from some of the most celebrated and important artworks of Renaissance France – large-scale stained glass windows, frescos on the walls of Fontainebleau, the Valois tapestries – yet there is no comprehensive study or catalogue of French viol images in existence today. Information presented within this dissertation fills this gap, and makes important contributions to organology, musicology and a modern understanding of French visual culture during the sixteenth century.

Original research for this thesis has identified almost seventy images of the viol in sixteenth-century French visual media. Although these depictions are most certainly a fraction of what once existed, this collection of images is a sufficient foundation to begin assessing depictions of the viol in French sixteenth-century visual media. The associated Catalogue of Select Images in Appendix IV aims to provide a new iconographical resource detailing all known viol imagery as yet identified, arranged in rough chronological order.

Throughout the gathering process of images, a number of questions were kept in mind: can iconography be trusted? Do existing images depict 'French' viols? What is a 'French' viol in the sixteenth century? In what media are viol depictions found? How did thematic or stylistic depiction communicate the social opinion of the viol at this time? With an in-depth study considering these questions, the various aspects of surviving viol imagery are analysed in a series of case studies in an effort to construct a more detailed picture of how the viol was situated in French art, society and culture.

Artistic media

Images of the viol can be found across many artistic media, including drawings, engravings, painting and frescos, stained glass, printed books, tapestries, sculpture, wood carving, leatherwork and ceramics. The majority of images involved a private patron, or were created by artists in the employment of nobility. Most would have been intended for a very select audience, either the patrons themselves or in the case of printed books, a small minority who could have afforded to buy such luxury items. Images of the viol in stained glass, a medium that was popular in areas such as Normandy, French Burgundy and Champagne, were one of the only publicly-viewed media of viol imagery.

The majority of images of the viol in sixteenth-century France thus identified can be split into a series of thematic areas, which are discussed through a series of three case studies within this chapter, as well as in subsequent chapters.¹ The areas are as follow: allegory, including the allegories of music and Apollo and the Muses, celestial concerts with angel musicians, civic and private fêtes and processions, musical ensembles (often connected to the allegory of music) and the use of viol imagery in popular decorative styles of the period.

The earliest two images of the viol are somewhat solitary examples within sixteenth-century French visual media that have been reserved for discussion within the Catalogue of Select Images, found in Appendix IV. The earliest is a woodcut from the title page of Symphorien Champier's 1516 book *Symphonia Platonis cum Aristotele, & Galeni & Hippocrate: Hippocratica philosophia ejusdem, Platoni medicina de duplici mundo, cum ejusdem scholiis: speculum medicinale Platonicum & apologia litteratum humaniorum* (Paris: 1516), in which Plato, Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates play a set of four bowed string instruments (see Cat. 1). The second, Jean de Gourmont's

¹ See Chapters Four and Five on triumphal entries and fêtes, and amateur music-making.

L'Adoration des bergers (Paris: Musée du Louvre) of c. 1525 is the earliest example of an angel musician playing a viol, a theme that will be extensively covered in this chapter, but is the only example of a depiction of a viol within a painting on wood panel (see Cat. 2). These images are explored in more detail within the catalogue.

Stained glass appears to have been the main medium in which images of the viol were depicted throughout much of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Images of viols in French sixteenth-century stained glass have been, until now, an unreported visual resource for the history of the instrument during this period – a genre which bridges the gap between the earliest solitary examples and the plethora of depictions created by the Fontainebleau masters.

The 1540s and 1550s were periods of increased visual representation of the viol in France, most likely connected to a rise in viol popularity on a professional and amateur level. Artists employed by the royal court under François I and Henri II included the viol in a large majority of depictions of musical scenes, spanning the genres of painting, drawing, engravings and sculpture. Printed books of triumphal entries began to depict viols in static tableaux along the processional route in 1550, with Henri II and Catherine de Medici's entry into Rouen.²

The 1550s also saw an increase in viol depictions in other forms of printed books. Jambe de Fer's treatise on music of 1556 is the earliest surviving French educational image of a viol, copying perhaps Hans Gerle's 1532 *Musica Teutsch* where string and note names are precisely marked along the viol's neck for reference by the amateur player.³ From the late 1550s images of the viol as a decorative element in borders, letters and

² See Chapter Four on triumphal entries.

³ An earlier viol treatise by Claude Gervaise *Premier Livre de Violle* was supposedly printed on or before 1547, but no copies exist and it is unknown if any images would have been included in the publication. Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 200.

frontispieces began to appear in printed books and music.⁴ An engraved portrait of Gaspar Duiffoprugcar from 1562, one of the only known sixteenth-century viol makers in France, depicts several viols among other instruments of the period. Engraved by Pierre Woeiriot (included in the Catalogue of Select Images as Cat. 35), it can be viewed as a calling card or advertisement for the maker's talents and is an accurate portrayal of string instruments of the period.⁵

While images of the viol continued to be included in drawn and engraved media throughout the sixteenth century, after the 1550s the viol ceased to be depicted in celestial concert scenes, or in a sacred context.⁶ Alternatively, in the second half of the sixteenth century the viol appeared in tapestries and embroidered fabric, media in which it had not previously been depicted.

Towards a French model? The physical organology of viols depicted in sixteenth-century French visual media

The issue of iconography as a reliable source of information on musical instruments has long been acknowledged to be fraught with pitfalls for the modern scholar. Viols depicted in sixteenth-century France are no exception, and the current understanding asserted by modern scholarship that bowed string instruments of the early sixteenth century could be found in a range of shapes, sizes and design models further complicates the organologist using images as part of their research. I have therefore used my collection of identified images to gather information on not only style, size and method of playing, but also allegorical themes, civic and social use, recurring themes and placement/meaning within an image. Allegorical aspects are addressed at a later point in

⁴ Unique examples of images of the viol found in a manuscript have been included in the catalogue as Cat. 62-65.

⁵ For further information see Chapter Six on instrument-making in France.

⁶ Carved images of viols on an organ casing survives from c. 1575 at Église Notre-Dame, Le Grand Andely, Les Andelys, Normandy (see Cat. 55-57) but there is no specific religious connotation, they are instead copies of engravings made by Étienne Delaune (see Cat. 48-49).

this chapter; first an initial examination of trends in viol shape, size and construction will be conducted.⁷

From its initial appearance in French visual media during the late 1520s, depictions of the viol increase dramatically over the following decades culminating in a peak during the 1550s, reflecting its elevated status as an instrument of cultural refinement and taste. Through the School of Fontainebleau, a group of Italian and Italian-influenced artists working for the French crown brought the image of the viol to the forefront of French art, making it the musical instrument of choice for any allegorical representation of music.⁸ Created in a range of sizes, viols depicted by the School of Fontainebleau reflect the Italian influences these foreign-born artists naturally brought with them to grace the walls of Fontainebleau.

While the size may differ from image to image, viols depicted by Fontainebleau artists had streamlined oval body shapes, long thin necks, thin ribs and a scroll pegbox. Later Fontainebleau artists such as Antoine Caron tended to favour viols with a specific uniform shape, primarily with larger full bottom bouts, smaller upper bouts, a deep large waist, pointed corners, a narrow long neck and scrolled pegbox or lute-style pegbox bent backward at ninety degrees.

The thin body depth depicted in many School of Fontainebleau viol images was a common characteristic of early sixteenth-century Italian images. By the second half of the sixteenth century, however, many of the viols represented in Italian images had deeper bodies. This deep body shape took longer to appear in depictions of French viols, as for some time the thin viol dominated in France in printed and drawn artwork, with

⁷ For further information on viol terminology and physical properties, please see: Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1942), 347-50; Murray Campbell, Clive Greated and Arnold Myers, *Musical Instruments: History, Technology, & Performance of Instruments of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 232-77.

⁸ For a detailed account of viol imagery in the School of Fontainebleau, please see the case study later in this chapter.

the thicker body depth not becoming a common feature until well after the mid-sixteenth century.

Like many images of musical instruments from the sixteenth century, identified depictions of viols in French visual media are extremely varied in terms of their physical attributes and decorative details. There are a few developmental directions, however, that represent a solid shift towards Italianate instruments by the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Early images of viols represented in stained glass, work of the School of Fontainebleau and printed books had either a central large rose soundhole or c-shaped soundholes on the bottom bout or all four bouts. Pegboxes were also mixed throughout art forms, depictions featuring tight or loose scrolls, lute-style pegboxes bent backwards at ninety degrees, or decorative spade-shaped pegboxes with pegs affixed into the front of the pegbox.

Animal head-shaped pegboxes also featured among French viol images, with Fontainebleau artists most commonly depicting lion heads. The source of reference and inspiration for the Florentine artists could have been Raphael's *St Cecilia* (Bologna: Pinacoteca Nazionale) from c. 1514, which featured a tenor-sized viol with a lion's head (see fig. 2 in Appendix III). Also seen in French images are birds' heads and horses' heads, the latter also existing on a surviving (albeit dramatically altered) viol attributed to Lyon-based Gaspar Duiffoprugcar.

During the second half of the century images of viols are increasingly found with Italianate characteristics, such as f-shaped soundholes, pointed corners and a scrolled pegbox. Artists associated with the School of Fontainebleau also began to make an effort to show contours of the body, especially the soundboard. Shading in an oval shape around the edge of the belly communicated a curved soundboard, a feature of bowed string instruments of the sixteenth century that assisted playing individual strings.⁹

⁹ Curved bridges, a feature added to early sixteenth-century bowed string instruments, allowed each string to be played individually. The higher curved bridge, however, increased the pressure on the soundboard

Strings depicted in images of the viol vary from three to six strings, with a strong shift towards six strings in Italianate depictions of viols later in the century.

From the Sublime to ‘Grotesques’: Three case studies

The rest of this chapter explores how the viol was used in various artwork and genres of sixteenth-century France by examining visual evidence in a series of case studies. These three studies begin with an extensive case study on depictions of the viol in stained glass, followed by two shorter case studies on musical allegory in the works of the School of Fontainebleau and the viol as a decorative element in contemporary art. These studies follow the appearance of the viol in French art more-or-less chronologically throughout the century and across different media.

In the Hands of Angels: viol iconography in the stained glass of French Burgundy, Champagne and Normandy

During the first half of the sixteenth century stained glass was a highly celebrated and supported French medium to rival the more traditional media of painting and sculpture. Surviving stained glass windows from this period attest to the high level of training, craftsmanship and ingenuity required to create such complex objects of religious inspiration and artistic beauty. This case study examines previously unreported depictions of the viol in stained glass I identified in churches, cathedrals and museums across the north of France. Within the study, original fieldwork is used to explore methods of artistic creation and physical organology within one of the earliest genres depicting images of the bowed viol in sixteenth-century France.

dramatically, causing flat soundboards of the fifteenth century to collapse inward. By adding an out-curving belly, instruments such as viols were able to withstand the increased pressure transferred from the strings through the bridge. Images of viols with this implied curved soundboard would have had a curved bridge and would have been used for polyphonic music, increasingly popular through the early sixteenth century.

I have identified fifteen stained glass windows depicting angel musicians playing viols, primarily in French Burgundy and Normandy. In these areas, cultural interaction through trade routes, ducal and royal residences, and artistic centres allowed artists from the Low Countries, Germany and Italy to assert their regional styles and traditions alongside French artists in order to create works of art that were both French and cosmopolitan in nature. I believe many similar windows have yet to be identified across the north of France, and further research should undoubtedly uncover still more across the whole of France.

While literally dozens of churches and cathedrals were visited during research visits to French Burgundy, Champagne, Normandy, Lorraine, Centre and Provence regions, as well as in and around Paris, in the two areas of French Burgundy and Normandy the likelihood of finding the viol in a stained glass work rose to approximately sixty percent when the work was dated to the 1550s. I have not been able to find images of the viol in later stained glass works, but further research may identify other regions of France (for instance in the south, west and east) where newly identified images of the viol might greatly change our understanding of the adoption of this instrument into religious art of the period – either in earlier or later examples.

Of all the forms of pictorial arts actively cultivated at that time, stained glass was the only genre that was viewed by a wider church-going public and not solely the experience of a private patron, select audience, or royal or noble court attendees. Religious imagery has always been an important tool for creating a strong personal connection to a faith or teachings through the visual communication of a religious doctrine. Stained glass brought knowledge, wonder, tales of morality and biblical stories to life on a grand scale that was at times graphic, sorrowful or triumphant, but always visually dazzling. High above were scenes of heaven, of other-worldly perfection in the form of angel consorts and celestial music. While angels did often play fantastical instruments, it was more common to see instruments of the period, possibly providing

visual cues the viewer could use to imagine an extra aural dimension, further enhancing an already awe-inspiring vision.

These extra-worldly scenes are the focus of this case study, as the majority of angel musicians were depicted in tracery lights at the top of window scenes. The placement of one angel in each tracery light is a commonly observed design characteristic, framing the window's main subject (i.e. Jesus or the Virgin Mary), or above panels depicting a biblical scene. The celestial orchestra is most dramatically rendered in rose windows created in the flamboyant style, in which angel musicians are fitted into the irregularly-shaped tracery lights in a way that best showcases their winged shape and musical activity. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, depictions of a 'bowed' viol in a stained glass window can be found in Sens Cathedral, and dates from after 1527.¹⁰ Alongside research into the creation of this large-scale work, a discussion on my choice to designate it as the earliest depiction in stained glass follows below, taking into account other relevant images that challenge this claim.

The main reference source for identifying images and possible images of viols has been the series of books published in the *Corpus Vitrearum*, an international compendium of research on stained glass.¹¹ The reference books, published by region, town or even cathedral, list detailed information on each window, but do not give much relevant information beyond the occasional nonspecific 'angel musicians' included within the window description. As a reference, these works do not have a musicological focus, but have been invaluable as a foundation for further research. Apart from *Corpus Vitrearum*'s reference books, there have been no known scholarly works on images of the viol in French sixteenth-century stained glass published to date.

¹⁰ See Cat. 3.

¹¹ See the bibliography for details of books consulted in the series.

Methods of working

Like other artistic crafts, glass painters (*peintres-verriers*) were based in a number of regional centres across France, the most notable in the early sixteenth-century being Paris and Troyes. Unlike Paris, artists working in Troyes did not belong to a central corporation, and enjoyed a more relaxed, if not less protected working environment. During the first half of the sixteenth century 111 craftsmen are listed as ‘painter-glaziers’ in Troyes. This is a very large number for one city, and it is probable that the well-known centre for stained glass supplied glass painters to the rest of the region.¹² Another explanation for the high number of craftsmen referenced in as ‘painter-glaziers’ could have been that they were not all glass painters, but glass makers (*vitriers*) installing windows in houses and buildings, or glass sellers and distributors to the numerous workshops in the city and surrounding area.¹³

Unless a glass painter was given an official appointment, glass painting would have been project-based by commission. The commission, however, could keep a master painter and his workshop busy over several months or years, especially when large-scale works were required for cathedrals or churches. At the centre of the project was the commission by a donor, often a local member of the nobility or a wealthy member of the clergy. The donor would collaborate with the workshop to decide on the content of the windows, approve the plan or *modèle* of the window, and meet all costs related to its production, including payments to artists and craftsmen, paying for materials procurement and transport costs, and if necessary temporary housing or workshop costs for the craftsmen. The model would normally be signed by both parties – the donor and the head craftsman – in the presence of a notary. Examples of signed *modèles* survive from Paris after 1540, and from Troyes in the seventeenth century. In the case of

¹² Isabelle Balsamo, et al. ‘Troyes’, *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 31 (1996): 381.

¹³ Danielle Minois, *Le vitrail à Troyes: les chantiers et les hommes (1480-1560)*, *Corpus Vitrearum, France, Études VI* (Paris: Presses de Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), 236.

expensive and prestigious works commissioned for large cathedrals, a contract was essential to ensure the donor's wishes were respected and the glass-painters had an approved plan from which to confidently work.¹⁴ Unfortunately few models have survived from this period, but based on a number of surviving models attached to one specific workshop or artist, it has been suggested by nineteenth and twentieth-century scholars that most workshops would have had a portfolio of images (models and cartoons) at hand for their own reference and to more effectively discuss commissions with possible donors.¹⁵

While the model was the overall plan agreed for the windows, the glass-painters worked from life-size drawings, or cartoons (*cartons*), to transfer the planned paintings onto the intricate arrangement of clear and coloured glass assembled to fit within the confines of the surrounding stonework. Paper, parchment, and fabric are believed to have been used for the creation and transfer of cartoons to glass.

Although the windows themselves are a testament to the artistic talent of early sixteenth-century glass-painters in their own right, there exist numerous references to separate artists being paid for creating cartoons or models. Indeed, Troyen painters and artists provided drawings for numerous artistic media, including architecture, sculpture, tapestry and stained glass, as well as clothing and liturgical ornaments for the clergy. Separate artists were also used to paint a faithful portrait of the donor onto the intended glass, to ensure the likeness was well-received.¹⁶ In an artistic centre such as Troyes, designing models and cartoons would have been a welcome and lucrative addition to larger commissions in their respective media.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ibid., 272-73.

¹⁵ Ibid., 274. Paul Biver, 'Modes d'emploi des cartons par les peintres-verriers du XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 77 (1913), 103.

¹⁶ Minois, *Troyes*, 273-4.

¹⁷ Ibid., 273, 276.

Glass-painters also made use of the large pool of Italian artists working for the crown in nearby Fontainebleau, and like other artistic media discussed in this dissertation, their Italian tastes and style influenced their rendering of cartoons, including depictions of musical instruments.¹⁸ In addition to Italian artists, Flemish painters and glass-painters were heavily used in France during the first half of the sixteenth century. In areas such as Normandy and Bretagne, Parisian and Flemish artists were involved in creating the cartoons used in large-scale stained glass windows.¹⁹

It is also well documented by current and past scholars that glass painters took inspiration from printed images from the period, and artists such as Albrecht Dürer were highly copied – their engravings and etchings of the Assumption, the Passion of Christ, and other biblical scenes became the basis for large-scale works in cathedrals and churches.²⁰ As the printed medium grew in popularity, its widespread dissemination meant printed images were used in the creation of paintings, frescos, sculpture, metal relief work, ceramics, and other artistic media.

This multi-faceted method of creation, which often brought together a series of artists, models and external sources, has been highlighted to question whom should be assigned artistic responsibility for the final, finished depiction of figures and details within a stained glass window. While it has already been established that the overarching theme, composition, arrangement of figures and donor portrait were agreed or approved in the planning stages, at what point were the specific details of each figure finalised? Were hairstyles, colour and decoration of garments of secondary figures left to the glass-painters, overseen by a master craftsman, or decided at an early point before actual painting began?

¹⁸ ‘Troyes’, *Groves Dictionary of Art*, vol. 31, 382.

¹⁹ Laurence Riviale, *Le vitrail en Normandie entre Renaissance et réforme* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 90.

²⁰ See Lucien Bégule, *Les vitraux du Moyen âge et de la Renaissance dans la region Lyonnaise et specialement dans l’ancien diocese de Lyon* (Paris, 1911), 173.

In the case of musical instruments, and in particular for this dissertation's focus on the viol, did the cartoons specify numbers of strings, rib depth, soundhole style and placement, or were these elements occasionally left to glass painters working from other pre-existing sources, observed instruments or even their own imaginations? Did glass painters add their own artistic flair to relatively well-dictated models? If another glass painter in the workshop had been assigned to paint angel musicians within a commissioned work, would the physical details of the instruments depicted have been completely different?

Without observing the actual artistic process or comparative evidence in the form of models, the modern researcher will never know the answers to these queries. Even without answers, these questions must be posed and kept in mind when evaluating what are essentially minute aspects of large-scale artistic projects. Based on two examples identified through original fieldwork and discussed within this case study below, I would like to propose, however, that glass painters had a great level of freedom within the artistic rendering of a cartoon, and the physical details we see of viols depicted in French sixteenth-century stained glass are down to these individual artists.

An early depiction of the viol in French Burgundy: the Cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Sens

Sens is in the modern district of Yonne, Burgundy, 125 km southeast of Paris. Its cathedral was built in the twelfth century, but had numerous restorations and additions over the following centuries. The north and south transepts, for instance, were built between the 1490s and 1530s, and a large amount of surviving painted glass in the transepts dates from this period. The north transept is of particular relevance to this thesis, as the rose window features an angel musical ensemble in which a large bass viol is played. It is the earliest depiction of a viol in France yet identified, predating

previously identified images of the viol (such as the viol illustration in Jambe de Fer's *Epitome musical*) by almost thirty years.²¹

The transept itself was designed by Martin Chambiges, a famous Parisian mason and architect of the period. The south transept was first to be constructed, and glass painters from Troyes were commissioned completing the main windows in the transept in the years following the turn of the sixteenth century.²²

Art historians assert in *Corpus Vitrearum* that surviving cathedral archives indicate that the north transept rose window was painted by Sens-based glass painter Jean Hympe (the younger) with Tassin Gassot between 1517 and 1519.²³ It seems that glass painting was a Hympe family business; in 1475 Jacques Hympe restored windows in the Saint Savinien chapel, and in 1502 Euvrard Hympe was hired to oversee the delivery of windows for the south transept by Troyen glass painters.²⁴

After fieldwork in the Archives départementales de l'Yonne I am in agreement with Thierry Crépin-Leblond, who suggests that a more accurate date for construction of the north transept rose is c. 1527, and not 1517, as indicated by *Corpus Vitrearum*.²⁵ The window was commissioned by Gabriel Gouffier (died 26 September 1529). A register from the eighteenth century gives a resume of Gouffier's career, where it is documented that he donated money in 1527 for a rose window in the north transept.

²¹ See Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 203, and Chapter Five for further discussion of this treatise.

²² *Corpus Vitrearum, France – Recensement III: les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), 174.

²³ *Ibid.*, 182-83.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁵ Archives départementales de l'Yonne, G. 700, entry 32, 'Gabriel Gouffier'. Thierry Crépin-Leblond, 'L'origine de la copie de la *Cène* de Léonard par Marco d'Oggiono à Ecouen', *Revue de l'art*, no. 123 (2000-4): 61. See footnote 22 above for the reference in *Corpus Vitrearum*.

The rose window (Cat. 3) depicts a celestial orchestra; the lights (tall narrow sections of glass) below the rose give a history of the Archangel Gabriel, Gouffier's patron saint.²⁶ In the five lights the following biblical scenes were depicted: Gabriel with the prophet Daniel, who points to Paradise above and souls in Limbo below; Gabriel announces to Zachary the birth of his son; Gabriel Gouffier is presented to the Virgin Mary by the Archangel Gabriel, Gouffier's arms can be seen at his knees; Gabriel shows Daniel the vanquished Synagogue and the triumphant Church; Gabriel announces the triumph of sanctified religion over demons and the descent of fallen angels are depicted.²⁷ Above the lights is the central rose, constructed in the flamboyant style, in which organic shapes and curved stonework were favoured over the radiating wheels of Medieval rose windows.²⁸ Five main sections or petals each contain eleven spade-shaped tracery lights (*mouchettes*) in which fifty-five angels playing musical instruments are arranged around the central figure of Christ. A further seven angels around the outside of the five main petals brings the total number of angel musicians to sixty-two.

The types of instruments depicted include a psaltery, pipe and tabors, straight trumpets and other similar brass instruments, tambourines, shawms, cymbals, portative organs, fiddles, triangles, drums, lutes, harps, bells, possible virginals or other keyboard instruments, horns, bagpipes, organs, dulcimers, hurdy-gurdies, jaw harps and one bass viol. All instruments except for the single psaltery and viol are mirrored on each side of the rose, suggesting that the cartoons were also used in reverse, reducing the number of cartoons produced (hence two images could be obtained from one cartoon). The mirrored use of cartoons also gives the rose a balanced order and aesthetic, if not reversing the playing techniques of angels in the right half of the depictions. It is likely that it was a practical choice to reuse cartoons as part of a money and time-saving exercise by the glass painters or their sub-contracted artists, as similar themes and physical outlines graced the windows of numerous churches in Troyes and the

²⁶ Corpus Vitrearum, *France – Recensement III*, 183.

²⁷ Abbé Brulée, 'Descriptions des verrières de la cathedral de Sens', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Sens*, vol. 7 (1861), 197-99.

²⁸ Painton Cowen, *Rose Windows* (London: Thames and Hudson, reprint 1992), 38.

surrounding area, and the workshop may have even been able to make use of pre-existing models for the large-scale commission.²⁹

It is interesting to note that this dramatic representation of a celestial orchestra was also copied in the nearby Église Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Villiers-sur-Tholon (1530, see below) and in the cathedral at Auxerre (1550 and 1573), both to the south of Sens. While the rose window in Villiers-sur-Tholon is small and features viols among the few angel musicians, the grand west rose window of Auxerre Cathedral features many mirrored angel musicians, but none of them play the viol.³⁰

In the rose window of the north transept of Sens Cathedral the viol is positioned directly below the central figure. It is large in size, requiring the angel to stand visibly behind it, with three strings and three visible pegs on one side of a thick scroll. The ribs are visible on the right side of the instrument as seen from the viewer, and two parallel lines running the length of the ribs seem to be attempting to delineate the front and back plates, or act as a design feature on the ribs.³¹ The rectangular upper bout contains a large circular soundhole decorated with a geometrical rosette similar to those found on lutes and other plucked instruments of the period. The angel holds a long bow held overhand and played high on the instrument, on the lowest part of the thick neck.

The bottom half of the instrument is either of questionable authenticity or the painting on the particular piece of glass has been particularly damaged, as the glass is of a different colour and many of the features are less visible. The bottom bout continues the same rectangular shape as the top bout, widening out by degree toward the base. The ribs follow the outline of the instrument as above, but much of the paint has been

²⁹ Paul Biver, 'Modes d'emploi des cartons par les peintres-verriers du XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 77 (1913), 102.

³⁰ On the left and right central edges of the rose there are, however, angel playing what seem to be vihuela-style plucked instruments with a large scrolled pegboxes. These instruments are identical in style to many viols depicted in French art during this period.

³¹ Raphael's *St Cecilia* (Bologna: Pinacoteca Nazionale) of c. 1514 also depicts a viol with a strip of dark-coloured wood where the front plate and the ribs join. See fig. 2 in Appendix III.

damaged and they are barely visible. The three strings are connected to a basic triangular tailpiece, which attaches to the bottom of the instrument with a loop of gut. The faint remnant of two inward-facing c-shaped soundholes can be seen on either side of the tailpiece.

Within this chapter, the Sens rose window viol has been proposed to be the earliest depiction of a viol in French stained glass. At this point, this assertion requires further explanation and clarification. It is certainly the earliest of a ‘bowed’ viol in sixteenth-century French stained glass, but one other identified image calls this claim into question. It is a depiction of angel musicians in stained glass dated 1527 at the Collégiale Notre Dame-en-Vaux in Chalons-en-Champagne, Champagne-Ardenne some 85 km north of Troyes, and 45 km southeast of Reims (fig. 3 and 3a in Appendix III).³²

This image of angel musicians is one example (among very few in Renaissance France) that depicts a viol-type instrument played without a bow, and a plucking motion is instead highlighted. At the very top of the tracery lights above a scene illustrating the story of the Virgin Mary and St Anne two viol-type instruments can be seen as a mirrored pair. Dated 1527 and likely to have used the pool of talented artists in nearby Troyes, these tenor-size instruments have angular bouts with pointed corners at the bottom and small waist of the viol and a wide tapering neck.

The bow hand in each of the mirrored depictions rests over the strings, but no bow can be seen. The fingers of the hand over the string are pressed together in either a plucking or pinching shape. Curiously at the same point where the angels’ hands touch the strings a thin black line crosses each of the instruments. Could this be a bow, or is it a crack in the glass, strangely in the exact same place in each of the painted scenes? Perhaps the black line represented a rudimentary sketch that was mistakenly forgotten by the

³² This area, closer to the duchy of Lorraine, the borders of Germany and the Low Countries, has not yet been explored systematically for evidence of depictions of the viol in stained glass. Future research is expected to add to the growing body of evidence thus compiled on stained glass in French Burgundy and Normandy.

painters, but it is unlikely that these windows would have been installed *in situ* unfinished.

If the black lines were meant to be bows, the angel holds it from the closest end by their outside hand, a method that would be rather impractical if one were actually playing a viol. These are, however, celestial beings without worldly restrictions, and it calls to mind Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* (Colmar: Musée Unterlinden) of 1512-16, where an angel in the forefront of the celestial orchestra plays a large viol with a similar 'backward' bowhold.

Is the Chalons-en-Champagne window of 1527 the earliest image of a viol in stained glass in France? Dated firmly within 1527, if this window does depict bowed viols it would most likely pre-date the Sens rose window by only a matter of months or years. Unfortunately I have not been able to photograph this window personally, and current available digital images of this window do not allow for closer examination.

Perhaps at this point a more in depth (but brief) discussion on what constitutes a viol needs to be had. Is a bow required or is it merely the shape and downward playing position? Another example of such a plucked 'viol' that predates even the 1516 woodcut (Cat. 1) can be found as part of a set of angel musicians painted on a highly decorated organ casing dated 1508 at the Église Saint-Pierre-Saint-Paul in Gonesse near Paris (fig. 4, 4a and 4b). Guy-Michel Leproux attests that an artist by the name of Antoine Félix painted the angel musicians on the Gonesse organ casing, based on an archival document some twenty-five years later.³³ In a notarised agreement between Félix and Pasquier Baullery (organ-maker) dated 6 September 1533, Félix promised to paint the organ at Église Saint Martin in Nangis (75 km southeast of Paris), 'as well as the said Félix enhanced the organ of the church in Gonesse'.³⁴

³³ Guy-Michel Leproux, *La peinture à Paris sous le règne de François I^{er}. France, études IV* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), 32.

³⁴ '...aussi bien que led. Felix a estoffé les orgues de l'église de Gonesse'. Ibid., 196. Archives nationales, MC ET III 10 (6 September 1533). According to Leproux, twelve painted angel musicians survive by

The instrument played by the Gonesse angel is akin to many viols found in many artistic depictions of across the sixteenth century. Large in size, it has a wide body with a deep waist and pointed corners, a low decorative central soundhole, a further four cross soundholes placed one in each bout, shallow ribs, five strings, a separate fingerboard and a lute-shaped pegbox bent backward at ninety degrees. A high bridge near the fingerboard is confusingly present.

What is more interesting to note on the ‘viol’ is that a bowed-string instrument tailpiece has been depicted, a feature that was not normally used with plucked instruments. Was this angel playing a hybrid instrument, as identified by Ian Woodfield in the art of late fifteenth-century Spain?³⁵ The lack of a bow does not appear to have been a mistake, as the artist took some pains to depict the active plucking motion, seen in the outstretched shape of the angel’s right hand. Was the artist depicting the multi-functional nature of such an instrument, playable both as a plucked or bowed instrument? The physical details of the plucked ‘viol’ are basically identical to the violin-type instrument played by another angel painted on the Gonesse organ casing, which also has a bridge placed high above the bowed area, rendering it unplayable in a practical sense. The artist’s aim, however, was more likely to be to instil wonder and thoughts of the divine in the eye of the beholder, and not to depict an entirely accurate instrument of the period.

Could this be the earliest image of a viol in France? Possibly, but due to the distinct lack of a bow, this image can be seen as very early visual evidence of the beginnings of cultural exchange surrounding the viol – of possibly an Aragonese or Habsburg influence versus the later Italian artistic style that would dominate the visual landscape of sixteenth-century French art for the foreseeable future.

Félix at the Église Saint-Martin in Nangis. Félix later worked with Jean Cousin the Elder, had connections to the School of Fontainebleau and was one of twelve artists assembled by Clouet for the funeral of François I. Ibid., 177.

³⁵ See Ian Woodfield’s *The Early History of the Viol* for many illustrations of late fifteenth-century angel musicians playing the bowed or plucked vihuela.

Stained glass in Normandy and French Burgundy

In the same year, 1530, two very different images of viols were created as part of stained glass windows in French Burgundy and Normandy. In the village of Villiers-sur-Tholon, 45 km south of Sens, a seemingly ‘copy-cat’ rose window of angel musicians surrounding Christ exists in the Église Saint-Jean-Baptiste, seen as Cat. 5. These viols, now depicted in a mirrored pair placed to either side of Christ, were most likely made by artists who wanted to include the increasingly popular instrument in the work, but did not understand the fundamental practicalities of the instrument. The viols are depicted with large rectangular bodies that curve inwards in long arcs, giving the impression not so much of a waist but a concave shape. The bottom bout extends downward from the main rectangular body, and along this length a slender curving tailpiece has been illustrated. Some shadowing hints to a curved front plate, on which there are four inward-facing c-shaped soundholes placed evenly in a square. The ribs are shallow and the short neck tapers directly from the top corners. The angel plays a short bow overhand. One of the pegboxes seems to have two pegs, depicting perhaps two of the four strings seen on both instruments.

Like the Gonesse organ painting, the bridges of the viols are situated very high on the body, rendering the instrument unplayable practically. The rough placement of the hand on the neck further strengthens the argument that the artist had not had the opportunity to observe a real viol. Unlike the angel musician in the Sens rose window, where the artist has taken great care to depict a hand position that implies actual notes are being played, the angel viol players of Villiers-sur-Tholon seem to ungracefully grip the instrument, bow and neck included.

In distinct contrast to the imaginative depiction at in the church at Villiers-sur-Tholon, the single angel musician playing a viol in the stained glass of the Église Notre Dame at Louviers in Normandy is very detailed and was likely to have been copied from either a

detailed print or an actual instrument. Illustrated as Cat. 4 alongside angel musicians playing the lute, a large rebec and a straight trumpet, the small tenor or even treble-sized viol seen in detail has three thick strings strung over a small curved bridge, four flame-shaped soundholes, thick ribs, a small thin neck and what appears to be a backward-curving scroll or a horse's head pegbox. A tailpiece is not present, and the strings connect directly to the bottom of the instrument. Much attention was given by the artist to give an accurate depiction of playing. The angel plays the viol with a realistic underhand bow hold in which a short bow is lightly gripped, and the fingers of his other hand rest on the neck in a believable playing position.

In Troyes, 70 km east of Sens in French Burgundy, a number of viols depicted in stained glass have been identified from the mid 1530s to 1550s. The earliest from this town dates from 1534-35 and is found in the Église Saint-Jean-au-Marché. Seen here as Cat. 6, the viol depicted is played not as part of a heavenly orchestra, but on its own above a crucifixion scene. The viol is large in size, a trend that begins to be seen in stained glass and other media of the mid-sixteenth century, with a small deep waist, pointed corners and s-shaped soundholes in the lower bouts. The bow is played using an underhand bow hold.

Only a few streets away, stained glass in the Basilique Saint-Urbain contains a single angel viol player among a group of four angel musicians playing the lute, transverse flute and triangle, illustrated as Cat. 24. Damage seems to have occurred sometime in the past to the glass section in which the top left of the viol's body and neck are depicted, forcing a repair and likely restoration. In my opinion, the physical depiction of the viol seems to be more based on observation of an actual instrument at some point in the creative process, and has many similarities in body shape to the viols depicted in the Chalons-en-Champagne window mentioned above.

The viol at Basilique Saint-Urbain has a wide lower bout tapering to a point at its base, a deep waist with pointed corners, and an upper bout that is rectangular in shape with

pointed corners on the shoulders. From these top corners the body tapers upwards into the neck, which appears to have a short, separate fingerboard. There are two flame-shaped soundholes on the lower bouts, with a central large soundhole in the middle of the upper bout. The artist appears to have attempted to show the curvature of the front plate by adding curved shading on the left side of the belly. The darker-coloured tailpiece appears to be attached to five strings, and a basic rectangular bridge of dark wood can be seen. The ribs are shallow, and a short bow draws a shadow across the body – an effect also observed under the bridge – adding a realistic effect to the portrayed instrument. The pegbox is in a section of glass that appears to have been repaired or restored, and it is only marginally visible. The bow hand is also not visible, replaced by dark glass depicting folds of the angel's garment.

In Sens Cathedral there is an additional window from the sixteenth century with an image of a viol, included in the catalogue as Cat. 27. Made c. 1556, the viol is completely different to the viol in the north transept window and depicts two angels playing harp and viol. The viol, seen only from behind, is dark in colour, suggesting an instrument with a stain or varnish. The viol appears to have a larger top bout, with thick ribs. The shape and style is very realistic, suggesting viols were known to (or at least observed by) either the cartoon artist or glass painter.

There is also a depiction of a viol as part of a set of three stained glass panels with angels playing musical instruments catalogued at the Musée de la Renaissance in Écouen, France. The panels are all dated to the mid-sixteenth century and bear a resemblance in many details that suggests they were made by the same workshop or group of artists. The three panels are of angels playing a viola da braccio (fig. 5), a lute (fig. 6) and the viol (Cat. 25), and are numbered Ec. 190-92, respectively. Information in the documentation records accompanying the panels suggest the three stained glass works were taken from a church in Provins (most likely Église Sainte Croix), some 45 km north of Sens. At the foot of the angel playing the lute there is a rectangular section giving the date 1555. Due to the similarity in details, subject matter and panel layouts, it

is likely that the panel with the viol depicted was also made in the 1550s, if not specifically in 1555.

The depiction of the viol features a long thin fretted neck with four strings, a horse's head pegbox, an oval-shaped body with wider upper bouts, a flat soundboard containing f-shaped soundholes, shallow ribs and a rectangular tapering tailpiece. The bow is held overhand. The pegboxes of the viol and lute are identical – depicting an elongated horse's head. This was a common feature used in a number of French viol images from the mid-sixteenth century, but lutes with this same pegbox decoration are rare if not non-existent. Throughout my research into sixteenth-century viol imagery no images have been identified in which the lute's pegbox has been depicted as a horse's head. The violin depicted in the accompanying panel has been painted with a lion's head, a common occurrence in bowed string instruments depicted 'da braccio' (on the arm) during this period. In this particular set of three panels, it may be the case that the lute pegbox, normally bent back at a near ninety-degree angle, was given a horse's head to match the viol's pegbox and the same cartoon was used for both pegboxes.

The choice to depict the angel as a nude boy or putto, sitting with his right leg arranged lower than the left and looking downward to the right (as seen by the viewer) looks as if it may have used the same or similar source as the angel musician depicted at Louviers in Normandy, as discussed above (Cat. 4). While the individual style and features differ completely, the arrangement of the viol-playing angel is almost identical, suggesting the same inspirational source and even possibly the same basic models. All three angel musicians depicted in the set held in Écouen, in fact, seem to have been modelled from the same source as the Louviers 1530 window, identical in positioning but different in style and detail.

This observation sheds light on the question posed earlier in the chapter on when the final decisions of physical details of viols depicted in stained glass were made. The glass painters working in Provins, with their own personal or workshop style, seem to have

made the final decisions on the particular details of the viol's appearance, while adhering to a previously-existing cartoon.

Normandy

The adoption of viols in the stained glass of Normandy seems to have happened more-or-less simultaneously with French Burgundy. After the window at Louviers dated 1530, viols appear in windows in La Ferté-Milon (actually in nearby Picardy, 1542 or 1547), Valmont (1550), Beaumont-le-Roger (1550) and Bernay (1550-55).³⁶

According to Laurence Riviale in his book, *Le vitrail en Normandie entre Renaissance et réforme*, stained glass that was the most up-to-date artistically in Normandy would have come from large workshops in Paris who collaborated with major 'cartonniers', or model artists.³⁷ As previously discussed, these workshops would have kept a store of models and cartoons on hand to speed up the artistic process and cut costs. This reuse of cartoons certainly appears to have been the case for the creation of viol angel musicians in the Église Saint-Nicolas at Beaumont-le Roger (Cat. 12) and the nearby Église Notre-Dame de la Couture in Bernay (Cat. 14), only 16 km apart and some 75 km southwest of Rouen.

The window in Beaumont-le-Roger would have been the first depiction of a viol between the two concurrent commissions, finished in 1550. Seen above a depiction of the *Wedding at Cana*, the viols do not make up part of an angel orchestra, only filling in small windows at the edges of the window. The cartoons could have been chosen from existing workshop stock to fill in narrow spaces in the windows. The viols depicted are large, with wide fingerboards coming far down onto the body, matching wide tailpieces, shallow ribs, three strings and elongated inward-facing c-shaped soundholes. The body is of a rounded rectangular shape, and the small waist has pointed corners. The viols are

³⁶ For information on the viol depicted in Église Saint-Nicolas in La Ferté-Milon please see Cat. 8, as well as a viol identified at Sainte Étienne du Mont in Paris (Cat. 26).

³⁷ Riviale, *Le vitrail en Normandie*, 90.

played overhand, no bridge is visible and the pegboxes are not depicted. These appear to be the first instance of viols illustrated as a mirrored pair in Normandy.

The angels of Bernay are depicted from the side with the index finger of each hand on the viol's neck pointing straight out, exactly the same positioning as at Beaumont-le-Roger. This mirrored pair does form part of an angel consort, paired with a set of two mirrored rebec-playing angels, and more accurately represents the use of the viol cartoons in their original arrangement within a pre-existing model. The viols, however, while the same size as the viols of Beaumont-le-Roger, were depicted only from the top half of the body upward as the lower bouts are concealed by clouds. Of what can be seen, the viols are large in size, with shallow ribs, large f-shaped soundholes in the upper bouts and are played using an overhand bowhold.³⁸

These two windows, made at a similar time and in close proximity, are further evidence of when physical details of depicted viols were decided during the artistic process. Using identical cartoons, the different appearance of the viols was down to the individual glass painters, working perhaps from personal knowledge (real or imagined) of these instruments.

65 km northwest of Rouen, the Abbé Notre-Dame-du-Pré in Valmont has a viol integrated into the main stained glass window behind the altar glorifying the Virgin Mary, illustrated as Cat. 13. Made in 1550, the viol depicted is played by an angel to the far right of the scene. The viol is relatively small in comparison to other viols depicted in Normandy, and was painted a darker colour in an oval shape with pointed corners, three strings, a triangular tapering tailpiece and two c-shaped inward-facing soundholes on the upper bouts. The ribs are shallow and the viol is played with a bow held overhand. The pegbox (in the less than adequate image I was able to obtain during onsite fieldwork) seems rather non-descript, but could be either a loose scroll or horse's head. This is the

³⁸ Martine Callas Bey, Véronique Chaussé, Françoise Gatouillat and Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Haute-Normandie. Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France*, vol. VI (Paris: 2001), 110-11.

only example I have been able to find during my extensive research into the genre where an angel viol player was integrated into the main panels; all others depict the viol as part of a celestial orchestra, high above the main scene.

In this lengthy case study, I have attempted to explore the various issues, new discoveries and aspects of physical organology I have encountered during my original research into depictions of the viol found in French stained glass. What can be taken from this research is that stained glass – an art form that relied upon major workshops, cartoons, models, external sources and wealthy patrons – is one of the earliest known genres in which the viol began to appear consistently in sixteenth-century French visual media.

Its artistic introduction into the large-scale works of French Burgundy and Normandy reflect an increased awareness of the instrument in French culture, at least among the nobility and artists (both French and foreign) working for this sphere of society. Its visual appearance in the late 1520s correlates directly with contemporary archival evidence of viol consorts employed in royal and ducal courts, as discussed in Chapter Two. It is particularly interesting to note the concentration of viols within windows made in French Burgundy and Normandy, as initial research, though not as extensive, show few if no examples of the viol in other regional stained glass across France. What did these centres have that promoted the viol as part of an ideal artistic image?

I would argue it was the direct connections to foreign artists and foreign cultural tastes that led to the inclusion of the viol as part of these illustrious works. In the Low Countries and Italy the viol has been proven by scholars to have been established as part of courtly culture much earlier in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.³⁹ Cultural exchange had a part to play through external printed sources and foreign artists, and it can be asserted that the centres of glass painting in these regions were on the cutting edge of artistic design in this spectacular medium. In the second case study the

³⁹ See Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*.

connection between foreign culture and artistic influence is explored further as the viol becomes a key allegorical symbol of the Italian artists of the School of Fontainebleau.

The School of Fontainebleau: from Apollo to Antoine Caron

Under the patronage of François I and Henri II, the School of Fontainebleau brought the distinct Florentine style to the forefront of French art. During the 1530s Rosso Fiorentino and Francesco Primaticcio (more so after Rosso's death in 1540) led the artistic design and decoration of the great halls of Fontainebleau. Adorning the walls in elaborate allegorical frescos, their style was much copied in print form by artists such as René Boyvin and Étienne Delaune working in Fontainebleau and Paris during the second half of the century. The surviving drawings and engravings are a stylised version of the monumental Mannerist works on the walls of Fontainebleau, copying the subject matter, designs and figures created by the Fontainebleau masters.

During the 1540s Primaticcio travelled back and forth to Italy many times under the instruction of François I, collecting works of classical antiquity and observing the directions of artistic trends of contemporary Italian artists.⁴⁰ Bringing back examples of ancient and contemporary Italian works of art, Primaticcio's efforts can be seen as a continuation of centuries of cultural and artistic exchange.

The viol was a regular feature of allegorical scenes and the decorative style of the School of Fontainebleau, and the theme of Apollo and the Muses found the viol represented and copied in a series of painted, drawn and engraved works. Normally portrayed on Mount Parnassus, Apollo was a known symbol of divine right to rule and power over the arts and sciences. He was associated with François I, *le Père et Restaurateur des Lettres* (Father and Restorer of Letters).⁴¹

⁴⁰ Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, translated by Deke Dusinberre, Scott Wilson and Rachel Zerner (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 114.

⁴¹ See for instance, Barbara Hochstetler Meyer, 'Marguerite de Navarre and the Androgynous Portrait of François I^{er}', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 2 (summer, 1995): 303; or Victoria L. Goldberg, 'Graces,

Unlike Italian visual media of the sixteenth century, there are very few representations of Apollo in France where he is holding a bowed string instrument on the arm like a violin. There are several images that date from the 1550s that are relevant to this thesis by Primaticcio and Nicolo dell'Abate, found in the Salle de Bal as a fresco at the Château de Fontainebleau, as well as preparatory drawings by both artists from the same period.

In a drawing of Apollo and the Muses in a wagon attributed to dell'Abate, *Apollon et les Muses sur un char* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1550s, see Cat. 21) two viols can be seen. The larger viol is of the plain oval type with a central rose, and it is not in the hands of Apollo, but of a Muse to the right of the composition. Apollo in this drawing is playing a harp. A smaller viol of tenor size is played by a Muse to the left of Apollo. It has a longer, narrower body, with a shallower long waist, a long narrow neck and an oval central soundhole. Dell'Abate's drawing *Apollon et les Muses donnant un concert* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1550s, Cat. 22) the viol has moved to being played by Apollo himself. It has a thin oval body, a wide flat fretted neck with separate fingerboard, long outward-facing c-shaped soundholes and a large single-curved scroll. Apollo holds the viol between his crossed legs.

The Salle de Bal of the Château de Fontainebleau contains a number of scenes in which viols are depicted. Completed between 1552 and 1556 and based on the drawings of Primaticcio, the frescos feature scenes from mythology including Philemon and Baucis.⁴² Primaticcio's preparatory drawing, *Le Parnasse* (London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, c. 1552, Cat. 17), is essentially identical to the later fresco, but the body of the viol depicted is blank – there are no soundholes, strings or a bridge. In the fresco (Cat. 18), the viol depicted is decidedly more decorative than previous images by dell'Abate – the fresco was based of course on Primaticcio's

Muses, and Arts: The Urns of Henry II and Francis I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29 (1966): 206-218.

⁴² Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 111.

drawing. The body has shallow ribs and a rectangular body with small curved upper and lower bouts. There is a central rose soundhole and a lion's head pegbox with three visible pegs on one side (suggesting probably six strings, which are hinted at on the body). A curved bridge can be seen, as can a tapering tailpiece. The instrument's body shape and lion pegbox can also be seen in another drawing attributed to Primaticcio, *Vieille femme drapée, tenant une 'lira da braccio' et un faisceau de verges* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, INV 1084 Recto, see fig. 7).

A second viol can be seen played by a Muse below and left of Apollo. The Muse is facing away from the viewer, a common manner in which to depict viol players in drawings and engravings by later School of Fontainebleau artists such as Antoine Caron and Étienne Delaune.⁴³ The only details that can be discerned of this second viol in the fresco are a tenor size, a backwards scroll and an underhand bow hold. The backward-facing viol player has been identified in connection to Niccolo dell'Abate's work in Italy before he came to France, and it is worth taking a moment to explore two identified examples. A series of frescos survive, transferred to canvas from the Sala del Paradiso of the fortress of Scandiano in the Emilia-Romagna region of Italy. Commissioned by the Boiardo family, dell'Abate painted a series of sixteen musicians to accompany a larger mural of the wedding feast of Cupid and Psyche for this grand space.⁴⁴ Now at the Galleria Estense in Modena, these conserved images include one of a woman facing away from the viewer, playing a viol (Modena: Galleria Estense, inv. 2780, fig. 8). In an exhibition publication of Niccolo dell'Abate and his patronage at the Boiardo court, the murals of musicians are dated to c. 1540-43.⁴⁵ What is particularly striking about the

⁴³ Similar depictions of a Muse playing a viol facing away from the viewer can also be seen in Baptiste Pellerin's drawing *La Musique* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, RF 743, Recto), Cat. 38, Antoine Caron's drawing *Jeux Funebres* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, RF29752.3, recto), Cat. 40, Giorgio Ghisi's engraving after a drawing by Luca Penni, *Apollon sur le Parnasse, au milieu des muses* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, 4879 LR/Recto), Cat. 29, and on a plate by Pierre Courteys directly copying Ghisi's print, *Apollon sur le mont Parnasse* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, MR 2439), Cat. 31.

⁴⁴ *Niccolò dell'Abate alla corte dei Boiardo: Il Paradiso ritrovato, a cura di Angelo Mazza, Massimo Mussini* (Ciniello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2009), 97-107, 217-233.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 112-113.

depiction of the viol player at the Scandiano fortress is her backward-facing position, exactly the same as depicted by later Fontainebleau artists, while every other musician's faces can be seen, portrayed facing either forward or to the side.

A second example of a similarly-positioned viol player can also be found in the Sala dei Concerti at the Palazzo Poggi in Bologna.⁴⁶ Included in Appendix III as fig. 9, this fresco dated c. 1550-52 places the viol in the hands of a male musician, among singers, a lute and a keyboard player. The choice of the artist to depict the viol player facing away from the viewer, and toward the musical consort evokes the feeling of observing an active musical scene, in which the musicians not only listen, but watch each other in order to create harmony as an ensemble. Depictions of seated musicians in close proximity are not uncommon in Italy during the sixteenth century, but dell'Abate's choice to turn the viol player away from the viewer is probably unique.⁴⁷ Did dell'Abate influence Primaticcio's design in the fresco of Apollo and the Muses, or was Primaticcio reproducing a design element observed in his travels to Italy during the period? Either way, this detail subtly maintained Italianate fashions while integrating them into a distinctive Fontainebleau style.

This important work in the Salle de Bal can be seen as a turning point in which the viol became an important allegorical symbol of the School of Fontainebleau artists. Placing a viol in the hand of Apollo for this impressive and important work strengthens the cultural importance and allegorical power of the viol to the Italian Fontainebleau artists, and reinforces its rise in stature in courtly entertainment in the French court.

In her article, 'Le roi, la lune et l'amour dans la salle de bal à Fontainebleau', Luisa Capodiecì makes a connection between the posture of Apollo in this fresco and a slightly earlier drawing in which Primaticcio confers the likeness of François I onto a portrait of

⁴⁶ Ibid., 116.

⁴⁷ Further research into Italian art of the first half of the sixteenth century could identify an earlier copied source, if the positioning is not unique to dell'Abate.

Julius Caesar, making a connection between these two powerful rulers.⁴⁸ Primaticcio also arranged Apollo in a similar position as the Salle de Bal fresco at the rear of a scene depicting 'Music' in wall painting in the Chambre des Arts at the Château Ancy-le-Franc, in one of seven roundels depicting the Liberal Arts (Cat. 33).⁴⁹

The Salle de Bal frescos contain two further scenes where the viol is depicted. Above the musicians' balcony of the ornately decorated hall, two viols are depicted in *Le Concert* (Cat. 20), played by a man and woman locked in an intense gaze. The viols are large in size, with distinctly shallow ribs. The necks are wide and long, and attach to scrolled pegboxes. The waists are somewhat shallow with pointed corners; two outward-facing c-shaped soundholes are positioned between them on each instrument.

Similar to the scene of Apollo and the Muses, another spandrel fresco depicts a Muse playing a bass viol near the central scene of the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, where Éris, goddess of discord, can be seen throwing a golden apple onto the table. This apple, intended for the fairest, would start a dispute between Hera, Aphrodite and Athena that would be resolved by the judgement of Paris, and ultimately result in the Trojan War (Cat. 19). The features of the viol's body are somewhat obscured in shadow, but of what can be seen it is large in size, with shallow ribs and a human head as the pegbox. Like the spandrel painting of Apollo and the Muses, the complicated interweaving figures designed by Primaticcio and realised by dell'Abate brings to mind a tangible sensuousness, a stimulation of all the senses, tying as Capodieci argues, the concepts of music and eroticism together in a symbolic visual representation of the lofty ideals of *harmonia mundi* and the decidedly erotic rendering of the Italianate allegorical programme.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Luisa Capodieci, 'Le roi, la lune et l'amour dans la salle de bal à Fontainebleau', *La Renaissance en France, renaissance française?* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 2009), 301.

⁴⁹ See Cat. 33. A fresco in the Galerie de Pharsale at the Château Ancy-le-Franc also depicts a stringed instrument, see Cat. 46.

⁵⁰ Capodieci, 'Le roi', 301.

These images, chosen by Italian artists working for the king of France, were instilling a visual language – an Italian visual language – in the minds of all who were fortunate enough through business or birth to see them. The Renaissance had arrived in France; this was the future of French art. Taking centre stage in many of the allegorical depictions of power, patronage, the liberal arts and the divine was the viol.

The viol was also a key musical instrument in representations of the allegory of Music created by Fontainebleau masters and later French artists. Evoking the theme of Apollo, groups of Muses played lutes and viols, harps and portative organs. One sculptural example from the period was the set of eight bas-relief panels carved by Pierre Bontemps for François I's funerary urn, which was created to hold his heart and entrails (Cat. 16). Recorded as an assistant to Primaticcio in the royal accounts between 1536-40, Bontemps was subcontracted by Philibert Delorme in 1550 to carve the urn as part of the Tomb of François I, Delorme's first major commission.⁵¹ Among the urn's relief panels celebrating François I's artistic patronage of the arts, the representation of Music (or as Paul Wingert in his article 'The Funerary Urn of Francis I' describes the panel 'Instrumental Music') depicts Muses and putti.⁵² Alongside an organ and small lute, a Muse plays a tenor-size viol. It has four strings, a small scroll and the typical elongated oval body with shallow ribs found on many viols depicted by Italian and Fontainebleau artists.

There exists a drawing of the allegory of Music from the second half of the sixteenth century by Baptiste Pellerin (originally attributed to Étienne Delaune) entitled *La Musique* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, RF 743, Recto) in which the nine Muses play a number of instruments, including organ, harp, cornet and transverse flute (Cat. 38). Pellerin's drawing is also a rare example where the Muses play a consort of viols. The viols are depicted in a range of sizes, from bass through to treble size, and various details are partially visible between the instruments. Facing each

⁵¹ Paul S. Wingert, 'The Funerary Urn of Francis I', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 21, no. 4 (Dec. 1939): 387. An image of the cartouche can be seen on page 386 of Wingert's article.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 384.

other in consort fashion, the artist has depicted the Muses in the typical clustered format of the Fontainebleau style, arranging the figures in such a way as to evoke in the viewer the feeling of observing an active scene. All the viols depicted have separate fingerboards ending in scrolled pegboxes, deep ribs and two are played underhand. On the bass viol held by a Muse in a position facing away from the viewer, three pegs can be seen on one side of the pegbox, suggesting at least five, if not six strings. In the drawing a group of men and women can also be seen sitting at a large table singing from part books. Set in a beautiful garden with a pergola, the scene is the epitome of musical harmony, while accurately depicting popular instruments of the period.

Images created by the School of Fontainebleau in the form of drawings, prints, stuccowork and frescos were directly influenced by the Italian masters who made up a large proportion of this school. Armed with a visual style taken directly from their training and experience in Italy, artists such as Rosso, Primaticcio and dell'Abate used and adapted this knowledge to create large-scale artistic compositions that were both Italianate and increasingly French in programme, design and realisation.⁵³

The presence of the viol as a main musical focus in many of these works is a sign of the high status it was afforded at the time, both initially as an allegorical symbol by the strong Italian presence at Fontainebleau, and increasingly by later French artists following in the footsteps of the Italian masters. The Salle de Bal, designed by Primaticcio and realised by dell'Abate in 1552-56, seems to be an important turning point in the use of the viol in allegorical images at Fontainebleau. In contrast, the Galerie François I, designed by Rosso in 1532 and completed during the 1530s, contains no images of the viol within its thematic design and it is clear that at this point in time the viol had not achieved the cultural importance in France it would by the 1550s.⁵⁴ From

⁵³ Henri Zerner, 'Fontainebleau school', *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 7, 2013, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T028818>.

⁵⁴ The only image of a viol (seen from behind) in the Galerie François I is the wall painting *La nymphe de Fontainebleau*, created by Jean Alaux in 1860-61 after a work by Rosso, and is thus not relevant to this dissertation.

the midpoint of the sixteenth-century allegorical representations of Apollo in the School of Fontainebleau strongly connected the viol as the ‘new’ Greek lyre, physical symbol of harmonious music of the spheres, maintaining a symbolic tie to string instruments of the past – from the lyre of classical antiquity through the medieval viol and rebec of the Middle Ages. This is a decided departure from iconographic illustrations of Apollo in Italian images of the sixteenth century, the majority of which depicted Apollo with a viola da braccio in his arms.

Its sudden and ubiquitous inclusion in a large majority of artistic works created at the mid-point of the century onwards also reflects (as we will see in Chapter Five) the rise in stature of the viol as an acceptable and promoted instrument among amateur music enthusiasts, indicating cultural refinement, up-to-date sensibilities and a comprehensive education in the Liberal Arts.

Putti and grotesques – Henri II’s bed head

During the first half of the sixteenth century, Italian artists developed an ornamental style in which delicate foliage, arabesques, masks, fantastical figures and animals were arranged with iconographical cameos, giving a balanced, vertically symmetrical and active scene. Grotesques graced the walls of great palazzos and the Vatican, as a genre it was greatly developed by artists in drawn and engraved media, and it flourished in three-dimensional decorative arts.

By the 1540s the grotesque ornamental style had come to France through printed folios, emblem books and through the direct experience of Italian artists familiar with the genre. Bringing current Italian tastes to the royal ateliers, Rosso, Primaticcio and later artists such as Antoine Caron and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau helped to create a French Mannerist style in which vase, fruit and foliage, stylised animals, elongated figures, monsters, leather strapwork, putti and symbolic imagery all combined together in a dense maze of movement, symmetry and imagination. At times light and graceful, at

others macabre and disturbing, many French artists adopted decorative elements from the Italian-inspired style.

Musical instruments, including the viol and other stringed instruments featured regularly in border decorations, frontispieces and letter decoration. While most examples with viol imagery are to be found in printed form, one rare example of viol imagery in the grotesque style survives as an embroidered bed head, a piece of fabric placed between the headboard and the canopy of the bed. This work serves as a case study to examine the use of viol imagery in border and embellishment work from the 1550s onwards.

The bed head in question has been dated to the c. 1550s (possibly 1550-70), and is in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (Cat. 32).⁵⁵ It is thought to be the only unaltered bed head from the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ Made of silk and satin, gold-coloured silk thread and silk appliqué pieces contrast strongly against the blue satin background. The panel is split approximately into four mirrored sections, with narrow border panels on the left and right edges. Thin ribbon-like intarsia and strapwork, vases and foliage set up the decorative framework for numerous grotesques and putti that fill the space and interact with the foliage.

The style of arabesque and hanging adornment within the strapwork is reminiscent of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, specifically the grotesque panels found in du Cerceau's 1566 *Livre de grotesques*.⁵⁷ Many Fontainebleau artists copied his ornamental style, such as Domenico del Barbieri (Barbieri), who worked with Rosso and Primaticcio at Fontainebleau. The grotesque style seen in embroidered bed head seen as Cat. 32 bears close resemblances to the printed panels of du Cerceau and that of Barbieri, seen in fig. 10. The thin intarsia and strapwork that gracefully frames the embroidered panel is a further connection to du Cerceau, and his influences can be seen in an engraved intarsia panel, seen as fig. 11. Finally, the presence of bald putti within the strapwork also seems

⁵⁵ London: Victoria & Albert Museum, T.405-1980.

⁵⁶ Victoria & Albert Museum website, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93443/bed-head/>

⁵⁷ Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre de grotesques* (Paris, 1566).

evocative of Fontainebleau artist Léonard Thiry's drawings (engraved by René Boyvin) made for the *Livre des la conquête de la Toison d'or par le prince Jason de Thessalie*, pictured as fig. 12.⁵⁸ Standing and sitting amongst this ornate framework are putti holding viols, and except for a few long curving trumpets, these are the only instruments in the main embroidered panel.

The viols are a treble or small tenor size and mirrored across different sections. The viols have the elongated oval shape, with pointed corners and deep ribs (communicated through showing the thick ribs along the outside of all sides of the soundboard). There are four inward-facing c-shaped soundholes and some have a central rose soundhole. A separate fretted fingerboard ends in a large stretched scroll pegbox. Six strings are visible, connected to a tapering tailpiece. A thin highly-arched bow ends in a decorative spiral at the tip. The two types of putti depicted include two standing putti with viol and bow, and four sitting putti with viols but no bows.⁵⁹ While there is no bow, one of their hands is placed near the instrument, suggesting perhaps a plucking motion.

In the border areas to the left and right are more stringed instruments, displayed as a group seen from above in a manner similar to the Maiolica plates of Casteldurante (see fig. 13). One of the instruments in the arrangement is of the same viol construction as seen in the main panel. Another instrument on top of it, however, seems to be violin-based in design. There are no frets on the fingerboard, and it has a rectangular body with decorative spiral rounded bouts. Below the string instruments in the pile are serpents or cornets, and music part books.

This placement of musical instruments in a similar arrangement can be seen as letter decoration in the printed part books of Parisian printers Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard. Surrounded by fruit and foliage, a viol (or possibly violin) can be perceived

⁵⁸ Léonard Thiry, Inv. no. 52197, in Zoltán Kárpáti and Eszter Seres, *Italian and French Prints before 1620: An On-Line Catalogue*, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest 2012, <http://www.printsanddrawings.hu>.

⁵⁹ This work could be considered another example of bow-less viols in French sixteenth-century visual media.

under a lute within a square decoration of the letter ‘L’ at the beginning of the chanson ‘Las! Je me plains’ by Claudin de Sermisy in the *Premier livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard* (Cat. 54).⁶⁰ What can be seen of the possible viol is that it has a long tapering tailpiece, pointed corners, a wide neck and a bird’s head pegbox. The bow is also present and unrealistically large. The size of the viol seems small in comparison to the lute, but it is more likely that the lute, viol and bow were arranged to fit within the decorative space. Le Roy and Ballard also included a viol as part of the decorative edging to the end page of their printed work, *Chansons nouvelles de Lassus*, printed in 1576 (Cat. 53).⁶¹ Much more detail can be seen of the viol on the end page, where it is the top instrument in a collection of primarily recorders. The most prominent feature of this viol is its deep ribs, pointed corners, curved front plate, distinctly rounded bridge and five strings.

Thus far all the examples in which a viol was included as part of an arrangement of musical instruments the artist has placed it among softer instruments associated with courtly and domestic music-making, i.e. plucked and bowed string instruments, recorders and cornets. A last example continues this tradition, giving the ‘bas’ or ‘haut’ instruments cultural or allegorical reference and is an engraved portrait of Antoine du Verdier’s in *La prosopographie* of 1573, included as Cat. 51).⁶² Here, a viol of medium size is placed with a lute, music book, possibly keyboard instrument as well as a draftsman’s compass and square. It has four strings, a central rose soundhole, deep ribs, a wide tailpiece, a long fretted neck and a loose scroll pegbox. Above the musical instruments Minerva is represented. Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, is also connected to arts and trade, and as the Greek goddess Athena she was also goddess of

⁶⁰ *Premier livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard, mis en musique à IIII. parties par Anth. Bertrand a Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy. Superius.* (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard), 1587, fol. 9. Source Les Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes webpage, <http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/Consult/index.asp?numfiche=232>.

⁶¹ *Chansons nouvelles a cinq parties, avec deux dialogues a huict de d’Orlande de Laßus* (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1576).

⁶² Antoine du Verdier, *La prosopographie ou description des personnages insignes, enrichie de plusieurs effigies, et réduite en quatre livres par Antoine du Verdier; vers de Ph. Bugnyon, F. de Belleforest, P. de Larivey... [et al.]* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1573), 6.

music, poetry and craft, among other attributes. Across from her is Marti, or Mars, god of war. He is represented by the drums, trumpets and weapons of warfare, seen below him.

Putti also were represented actually playing viols on a frontispiece reused repeatedly by Parisian printers le Roy and Ballard for a number of publications in the 1570s and 1580s: *Novem quiritationes divi iob. Quaternis vocibus ab Orlando de Lassus. Modulatae* (1572), a similar version printed in French *Chansons nouvelles a cinq parties, avec deux dialogues: a huict. d'Orlande de Laßus* (1576) and the *Premier, Second and Troisième livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard, mis en musique à IIII. parties par Anth. Bertrand* (1587), as discussed above (Cat. 52).⁶³ Almost one hundred years later in 1659 a printed part book made by the printing firm of Ballard has been identified where the frontispiece template was still being used.⁶⁴

These printed part books for vocal music depict a four-part viol consort split into two groups around the bottom half of the oval medallion title area. The two groups are separated by size, with a bass viol and tenor viol to the left of the page and a tenor or alto viol and treble to the right of the page. The consort arrangement of treble, tenor,

⁶³ *Novem quiritationes divi iob. Quaternis vocibus ab Orlando de Lassus. Modulatae* Apud Adrianum le Roy, & Robertum Ballard, Regis Typographos sub signo montis Parnassi. 1572. Cum priuilegio Regis ad decennium. Tenor. (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard), 1572. Source <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8421730g/f2.item>. *Quinta Pars. Chansons nouvelles a cinq parties, avec deux dialogues: a huict. d'Orlande de Laßus. A Paris, Par Adrian le Roy. Imprimeurs du Roy.* (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard), 1576, fol. 1. Source www.gallica.bnf.fr. *Premier livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard, mis en musique à IIII. parties par Anth. Bertrand a Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy. Superius.* (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard), 1587, title page. *Second livre des amours de P. de Ronsard, mis en musique à IIII, par Antoine Bertrand naïf de sontages en Auvergne, a Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy. Superius.* (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard), 1587, title page. *Troisième livre des amours de P. de Ronsard, mis en musique à IIII, par Antoine Bertrand naïf de sontages en Auvergne, a Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy. Superius.* (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard), 1587, fol. 1 (of each part). Source Les Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes, webpage, <http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/Consult/index.asp?numfiche=232>.

⁶⁴ *D.O.M. Musica sacra ad vespas, aliasque frequentes in ecclesia preces. A 4.Vocibus. : In plerisque ab unica, vel duabus, cum organo. Authore A.P. Ioanne Baptista Geoffroy. Societatus Issu. Superius Parisiis. Ex Officina Roberti Ballard unci Regiae Musicae Typographi. 1659.* (Paris: Ballard), 1659. Source: Bibliotheque de Toulouse, http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/ark:/74899/B315556101_RMCONS0904_1.

tenor, bass suits a large amount of four-part vocal music, and suggests that the engraver either copied another engraving, was instructed by someone familiar with viols or knew the sizes of viols that would suit the tessitura of the different vocal parts.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the depicted viols are a credible representation of a viol consort in terms of sizes and physical construction. The bass and tenor viols depicted to the left of the picture show a curved bridge, a curved soundboard and deep ribs. The necks are fretted, with scroll pegboxes.

Putti playing viols, or more often using them as a decorative prop, features heavily in the drawings of Antoine Caron during the second half of the century. Combining the popularity of the viol in the School of Fontainebleau's visual allegorical language with the Mannerist decorative embellishment style, Caron places the viol in hands of putti in musically-focused border decorations. In Caron's drawing, *Les Présents échangés entre Clément VII et François I^{er} à Marseille* (from *Histoire françoise de nostre temps*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques), Cat. 43, four putti sit above and below two oval vignettes within architectural-style border decorations, playing lute, transverse flute, cornet and the viol. Like many of Caron's viol illustrations, the bottom bout is wider and larger than the top bout, the exaggerated waist has pointed corners and the viol has a lute-style pegbox bent backward at ninety degrees.

A viol also features as part of the border decoration in Antoine Caron's *Mort de François I^{er}, le roi benit son fils Henri II* (Paris, Musée du Louvre département des Arts graphiques, RF 29752.13, recto), Cat.44, in which a Muse, perhaps representing 'Music' as one of the Liberal Arts, sits forlorn with her head lowered to her hand, which rests on the pegbox of a viol. The sentiment conveyed in the main image of the death of François I is also reflected in the border illustrations. The Muse does not play her viol – it is silent – as she mourns the death of the great patron of the arts.

⁶⁵ For a more in-depth study of printed and manuscript vocal and instrumental music in relation to viols, please see Chapter Five.

Images of the viol in decorative embellishment during the second half of the century continued to make a strong connection between the instrument and allegorical symbolism of Apollo, the Muses and the concept of 'Music' as both representative of the Liberal Arts and of a formal education based on cultural refinement and modern taste. Illustrated with symbolic associations and practical connotations (in the case of the putti viol consort on the frontispieces of le Roy and Ballard's musical part books), images of viols in decorative borders and embellishment of the second half of the sixteenth century further reinforced the high cultural status afforded the viol during this period. With a sharp rise of intellectual and musical printed consumables throughout the sixteenth century, artists and printers used the image of the viol to reflect its increasing popularity within French society and to emphasize its connection with the lofty ideals of art, culture and music.

Conclusion

The examination of images of the viol in French visual media for this chapter and in the corresponding select catalogue in the appendices has been the first on this specific topic. While the select catalogue is not comprehensive, it comes some way to increase modern knowledge of such an important musical instrument in France during the sixteenth century. In conjunction with past and original research explored throughout the rest of this dissertation, the avenues of enquiry and new information communicated in this chapter create a much more well-rounded picture of how the viol was perceived and established within French culture.

I would like to argue that there is a direct correlation between the rate and frequency of inclusion of the viol in visual media during the sixteenth century and its popularity and social standing within French society. Depicted from the 1520s onward as a new member of the angel orchestra, its inclusion helped glass painters working out of artistic centres in Normandy, Paris and Troyes to modernise the celestial soundscape and reflect current cultural and musical trends in the noble and royal courts. With an ever-present

external influence in the form of models and cartoons from large cartonniers working with foreign artists and visual sources to incorporate this new musical instrument within an established visual framework, so too do we see viols and viol players outsourced and brought to the courts of the leaders of artistic patronage in France.

Through the 1540s and 1550s the viol became ‘the’ instrument of choice to communicate a specific visual language for the Italian masters of the first School of Fontainebleau. Placed in the hands of Apollo, his Muses or played in scenes that were as much sexually charged as they were musically, the viol became a symbol not only of the highest form of music, but acted as part of the overall scene as a physical manifestation of sensuousness, in that it evoked a reaction of the senses. The interiors designed for François I and later Henri II were filled with nudes, erotic and mythological scenes, and the presence of the viol in these images brought an aural dimension to the scene in a manner that evoked for its viewer the most fashionable up-to-date music. This use of the viol in such important works of the period and as a key allegorical symbol further reinforced to the viewer the noble connotations of the viol, and its suitability as a pursuit of the gentleman amateur (as I show in Chapter Five).

The printed medium took on this new vogue for the viol and its strong connections to the elevated ideas of ‘Music’, one of many in a long line of stringed instruments from classical antiquity to represent *harmonia mundi* or music of the spheres. The artworks of the School of Fontainebleau, the largest at first gracing only the walls of the Château de Fontainebleau, were now more widely disseminated in print form and the use of the viol (and all its relevant social and cultural associations) became part of a French decorative style.

The greatest number of examples identified of the viol in visual media from the second half of the sixteenth century are in the printed medium, and as will be discussed at greater depth in Chapter Four, a profound shift towards instruments of Italianate design began to happen in visual media from the midpoint of the century onward. A slow but

growing preference toward standardising physical features on the instrument can also be seen as the century progressed, favouring the construction methods of Italian workshops, including f-shaped soundholes, purfling, pointed corners, a scrolled pegbox and overlapping front and back plates. A similar trend occurs in archival evidence, and from the 1570s onward an increase in interest in Italian design also points to viols not being represented at all, but bass members of the violin family, a trend from which the viol (as a consort) would never recover.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ See Chapter Six on instrument making and the Postlude in Chapter Seven for information on the rise of the violin family and the decline of the viol.

Chapter Four. Triumphal Entries and Festivals

Royal entries into towns and cities were a chance for the townspeople to acknowledge allegiance to their monarch, as well as an opportunity for the king to assert his sovereignty in person, through a series of extravagant displays planned over many days or weeks. Pageantry and parades of both the townspeople and the visiting party were normally included, as well as staged theatrical entertainment, feasts, and other such displays of wealth and cultivation. Pamphlets or books were printed to commemorate the occasion, describing events and offering detailed reports of clothing worn by the town's societies and communities and there are numerous surviving printed books of triumphal entries in France from the sixteenth century.

As a historical record of events, these books can be useful but also misleading. Written with a market in mind and often strict instructions from the visiting party, the printed festival book had a very clear message to all those who read it. Success of the event (real or idealised) through its opulence, glorification, painstaking planning and pomp-and-ceremony were carefully communicated across the pages of the publication, and the inclusion of music within these festivities contributed to an outward-facing presentation of cultural sophistication, wealth, power and fashion.

While the entry and its relevant events were usually not covered in their entirety in one publication, details of music and entertainment were often glossed over, neglected or greatly simplified, leaving the reader a scattered or vague understanding of the role and repertoire of participating musicians. Musicians would have been engaged for specific purposes in the entry festivities, and the type of instrument often dictated how the instrument was used during the events. The most common reference to musicians in French triumphal entries of the sixteenth century was the groups of musicians that accompanied the town's corporations, important public figures or officials along the march. Of the dozens of entries consulted throughout the sixteenth century,

accompanying ‘trompettes’, ‘clarions’, ‘sacquebouts’, ‘cornetz’, ‘fiffres et tabours’ were the most common instruments mentioned. All fitting within the ‘haut’ or loud category, these instruments arranged in civic, military and musical ensembles provided flexible musical accompaniment to spectacles which proclaimed supreme sovereignty of the king, asserted military prowess and allowed the entry organisers to compete on a European cultural scale by offering in entertainment the most fashionable up-to-date art music. Town waits would have been among the musicians employed for the events, playing as mentioned in the parades and from the platforms of triumphal arches, high above the procession.

In opposition to the parading loud band in a triumphal entry was the consort of musicians used for smaller or stationary events. Here, ‘bas’ or softer instruments were often included, performing a piece of music connected to the theme of the entry. Tableaux scenes, which could be static like triumphal arches or moving, as on a chariot, would depict chosen themes from the entry, with a main focus on glorification of the visiting nobility, often through allegorical themes. It is interesting to note that in sixteenth-century French triumphal entry publications no images of chariots carrying string instruments as part of the procession have yet been identified, as depicted in the fantastical *Triumph of Maximilian* (begun after 1512 and not finished at the time of Emperor Maximilian I’s death in 1519).¹

In this chapter a number of specific entries and festivities will be discussed in detail, including the entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Lyon in 1548, into Rouen in 1550, the wedding of François II and Mary, Queen of Scots in Paris in 1558, the royal fêtes and entry of Charles IX, Catherine de Médicis and Elisabeth de France into Bayonne in 1565, artwork associated with the ball held for Polish ambassadors in the Jardin des Tuileries by Catherine de Médicis in 1573 and the entry of Henri IV into

¹ *The Triumph of Maximilian: 137 woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and others with a translation of descriptive text, introduction and notes by Stanley Appelbaum* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), plates 18 and 24. One personal account mentions string players on a moving tableau scene, discussed below in the section on the Valois Tapestries.

Rouen in 1596. The triumphal entry books discussed in this chapter are some of the most extensive and grand publications made in sixteenth-century France, but they represent only a small fraction of those published during this time period and consulted as part of the research for this dissertation.

Most of the entry publications consulted contained no reference to the viol, typically mentioning only loud instruments which accompanied the procession, as mentioned above. Royal entry publication authors also frequently stated some variation of ‘lovely music was played by musicians’, a generic observation that while frustrating to the modern scholar, prompts a researcher to question the interests (or lack thereof) of the author, anticipated interests of the reader, first-hand experience of the musical entertainment and printing timescale of the entry book – before or after the festivities took place.² Attempts to further clarify specific employment of musicians and instruments they played have often not been successful due to the overwhelming preponderance for missing or destroyed expense records in archives. For example, after unsuccessfully trying to locate the expense records for the triumphal entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Rouen in 1550, it was discovered that a fire in 1553 destroyed Rouen’s Hôtel de ville and the older Hôtel de ville behind it, both repositories for the city’s records at the time.³

Despite this lack of corroborative evidence, it can be asserted that the viol was most certainly used to a greater extent in entries and festivities than was actually represented in print, especially at the mid-point of the sixteenth century when Italian aesthetic in art

² In her article, ‘Early Modern European Festivals – Politics and Performance, Event and Record’, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly cites some examples where the subject matter and tone of the entry publication are completely controlled by the court, asserting that ‘The writer, even if present, did not see all that went on or did not remember it simply because he was not interested. From some examples it is clear that he was given the equivalent of the modern press pack and just put down what the court official who briefed him told him to put down. Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, ‘Early Modern European Festivals – Politics and Performance, Event and Record’, *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Ashgate: Aldershot, England, 2002), 22.

³ Lucien Denis, *Note sur les archives municipales de la ville de Rouen depuis le XIX^e siècle* (Rouen: Imprimerie Laine, 1946), 5-6.

and music was a powerful influence on French culture.⁴ While informed speculation could be used in an attempt to address certain gaps in current knowledge, this chapter will use existing documentary and printed resources to identify and explore particular issues and problems surrounding using triumphal entry and festival publications, focusing on how nomenclature, imagery and inconsistent information can obscure a scholar's insight into civic and festival viol use in sixteenth-century France.

The problems surrounding using and interpreting surviving documentary and published evidence will not be the sole focus of this chapter; all surviving examples will be analysed through case studies centred on a select group of the entries, forming the framework for the larger themes that have been identified connected to using triumphal entry and festival publications as historical evidence.

The entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Lyon in 1548 and the fêtes surrounding Charles IX's entry into Bayonne in 1565 serve as excellent examples of how publications intended for different audiences gave varying accounts of the entry and connected festivities. The details and information of music-making and musical instruments in these disparate publications are examined to discern how the interests, intentions and understanding of the publication's author were communicated, as well as the assumed musical interests and cultural expectations of the intended reader.

Images of the viol are less common in publications, but the physical representation and allegorical context of viol imagery is examined, using the entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Rouen in 1550, and the entry of Henri IV into the same city in 1596 to explore the allegorical connections to Apollo, Orpheus and in turn their use to communicate the concept of sovereign power and divine right to rule.

Representation in the form of textual references and visual imagery are analysed and compared across all relevant entry publications, taking into account the issues of

⁴ See the previous chapter on the viol in sixteenth-century French visual media for more information.

nomenclature and placement of the viol within the described festivities, using the surviving documentary evidence of the festivities at Bayonne as a case study. The drawings of the Bayonne festivities by Antoine Caron and relevant Valois tapestries are also examined in this chapter to explore the concept of visually recording events, and how images of viols changed when transformed into large illustrious works of art to suit the tastes of the commissioner and current fashions of the period.

A last section on the placement and use of music, and more specifically the viol in entry and festival entertainment, questions how music was used within the carefully choreographed entry and festival events to communicate sovereign power, cultural refinement, aesthetic and taste. Three issues are explored: musical notation in triumphal entry publications, practical use of the viol and images of the viol and music-making in entry publications.

The entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Lyon, 1548

Lyon, with its strategic location almost as close to Milan as it is to Paris, was an important commercial centre in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was a major point of trade along the Italian trade route to Paris. On river transport routes along the Rhone and Saone rivers, Lyon opened access to German and Swiss trade via well-established routes through the Alps.

Lyon's main trade exports included silk and other textiles, luxury items, and printed books and materials. Lyon had a high proportion of expatriates living within its town limits – the majority of Lyonnais bankers were from Milan and Florence, as well as a large number from Switzerland and Germany. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they lent a great deal to the French crown, and funded French military campaigns into Italy. The large Italian community brought great wealth into the city and with it, an Italian sense of opulence and luxurious living. In the French interventions into Italy in the 1490s the opportunity arose for some noble Italian families to pledge

allegiance to the French king, securing monetary rewards and favours such as the governorship of Lyon. This post was held, for instance, throughout the early decades of the sixteenth century by a series of Milanese nobles.

Businessmen also flocked to Lyon because of its relaxed rules on trade and business. Printers and craftsmen were not restricted to operating their business by the laws of guilds, which in Germany required craftsmen to be citizens of the city, and regulated the number of workshops in any one town. Lyon was also not a permanent home to royal courts or cathedral song schools, which could have regulated local artistic and printed output.⁵

The French printed edition of the 1548 entry into Lyon by Maurice Scève largely focuses on the local nobility, their contributions, and the tangible physical display of wealth during the festivities. Most of the entry details the coordinated liveries of the townspeople and Italian expatriate communities.⁶ The viol is not mentioned at all in the French publication by Maurice Scève; it is necessary to consult foreign publications for any information on the use of viols in the Lyonnais festivities.

The Italian publication of the Lyon entry, *Particolare descrittone della comedia fatta recitare in Lione la Nazione Fiorentina à richiesta di sua Maestà Christianissima*, written for the Florentine community, gives a detailed description of a theatrical event that happened several days after the entry, and mentions the use of a consort of four viols.⁷ A comedic play *La Calandra* by Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi (also called *Il Bibbiena*) from near Florence was paired with a series of *intermezzi*, which focused on the different ages of man, starting with the dawn and ending at night. In his introduction

⁵ Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 6-7.

⁶ Richard Cooper, ed., *Maurice Scève: The Entry of Henri II into Lyon, September 1548, A facsimile with an Introduction by Richard Cooper*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. CLX (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), from *Magnificence*, fols A4, B3-4 (no modern page numbers given).

⁷ Ibid., from *Particolare descrittone della comedia fatta recitare in Lione la Nazione Fiorentina à richiesta di sua Maestà Christianissima*.

to a facsimile of Maurice Scève's entry publication, *Magnificence de la superbe et triumpicante entrée de la noble et antique cité de Lyon faicte au treschrestien roy de France Henry deuxieme*, Richard Cooper gives a number of reasons why this comedy was chosen:

La Calandra was an appropriate choice for the occasion for a number of reasons: it was on the repertoire of the Cazzuola company, and therefore ready at relatively short notice; the author Bibbiena had been a papal ambassador to France, and was therefore not an unknown figure to older members of the court; Bibbiena had also been a protégé of the Médicis, and could therefore be presented in the Italian commentary as an example of Medicean patronage; and the play was widely known in a dozen Italian editions before 1548, and also by many performances throughout Italy, including analogous grandiose stagings at court with lavish decor, followed by banquets and balls.⁸

La Calandra was associated with the height of Italian fashion and culture, and unsurprisingly the comedy and accompanying *intermezzi* were very well received in Lyon. Henri II and Catherine de Médicis expressed an interest to see it again after the first performance, and turned up with a large entourage unexpectedly when the company repeated the performance for members of the public and those not invited to the first private performance. A third performance was given the following Monday for 'Messieurs of the grand council and others of the town, who were not able to enter the first performances'.⁹

The music for the *intermezzi* by the known Italian composer Piero Mannucci does not exist any longer.¹⁰ The printed festival book, however, does give a glimpse into how the Italian community used the viol in their musical festivities. Two short examples from the publication are translated below. Following the first act:

... four voices sang music in verses a little before the recitative of the age of iron, and [after was heard] the same music [played by] four violas da

⁸ Ibid., 113-14.

⁹ 'Mesieurs du grand Conseil, & autres de la Ville, qui avoient peu entrer aux premiers recitementz', Ibid., 121, *Magnificence*, fol. L4r-v.

¹⁰ Howard Mayer Brown, *Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: The Music for the Florentine Intermedii* (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 94-95.

gamba, and four German flutes (transverse flutes), finishing the age of iron [with a] new reverence to the king.¹¹

A following section describes the scene in which music was sung by a woman embodying ‘night’:

...on their heads they were adorned with stars and the moon above their forehead [made] of the same fabric as their clothing, [with] hose of black voile. Passing over the scene, [they] sang to the sound of two spinets, four transverse flutes, and four violas da gamba the following song.¹²

The viols are used as a set of four, possibly either alongside the consort of flutes or in alternation between consorts for musical contrast. There is also a mention of a single bass viol used on its own as accompaniment to a mixed consort of *bas* instruments including five lutes and a double spinet.¹³ Richard Cooper lists the musical ensemble in its entirety for the performance as consisting of: ‘two spinets, four gamba viols, five lutes, four transverse flutes, three crumhorns, three trombones, and two cornets’.¹⁴ While the musical ensemble was relatively balanced between *haut* and *bas* instruments, the viol consort remained firmly a member of the softer ensemble. The fortunate listing of instrument ‘orchestration’ for each separate song allows the modern scholar to consider how the instruments were used at the time – what pairings were preferred tonally among different instruments, how certain instruments such as the viol were used both in consort fashion and as a solo accompanying bass instrument to other instruments, and ultimately what instrumental players would have been engaged to accompany the travelling Florentine theatrical troupe in the late 1540s.

¹¹ ‘...quatro voci cantato in Musica quei versi che poco innanzi haueua recitati l’età del ferro, & nel medesimo tempo sonata la medesima Musica da quatro violoni da gamba & da quatro flauti d’Allamagna: Et finita la Musica l’età del Ferro fatta di nuouo reuerenza al Re’. Cooper, *Lyon*, from *Particolare*, fol. Or.

¹² ‘...in capo haueua una acconoiatura stellata con la Luna sopra la fronte: le sue alie erano diquel medesimo drappo che la vesta, & i calzari di velo nero: et passando su per la scena canto alsuono di due spinette, quarto flauti trauerse & quarto violoni da gamba la seguente Canzona’. Ibid., from *Particolare*, fol. Pv.

¹³ ‘...una voca sola accompagnata da cinque liuti, un violone da gamba & una spinetta dopo...’ (...a solo voice accompanied by five lutes, a viola da gamba and a double spinet). Ibid., from *Particolare*, fol. O2v.

¹⁴ Ibid., 116.

In comparison to the Italian publication, the French publication's omission of any details of musical instruments during the private entertainment is very noticeable. Why was there such a discrepancy in the two publications? Was it possible that the chronicler for the French publication was not interested in the music enough to deem it necessary to comment? Was he unfamiliar with some of the instruments? Was the information for the French publication obtained through hearsay, the musical events remembered pleasant, but vague by the attending party? Was it a tactical decision to not give too much space to the Florentine-sponsored events within the French publication? It is impossible to be certain, but the lack of attention to musical detail is in accordance with most French publications of triumphal entries, and it is indeed the Italian book that is out of the ordinary and surprisingly detailed in its description of musical events.

The specific attention to detail in the Italian publication was most likely due to the expatriate community's sponsorship of the private entertainment – a focus on music and Italianate cultural refinement within the publication that the author may have anticipated to be of particular interest to the sponsoring party. Catherine de Médicis's involvement in the entry meant no expense was spared by the Italian expatriate community to attempt to create a spectacle on par with the great festivities put on by the Médicis family in Florence. The theatrical company, La Cazzuola, and (presumably) relevant musicians were brought over from Florence expressly for the musical event.¹⁵ By naming the play, its writer, and giving great details on costume and musical arrangement, the publisher was glorifying the Florentine community, the Médicis, as well as their artistic sophistication and musical taste.

A public glorification in print of their own sponsored event, held knowing that Henri II, Catherine de Médicis, the royal retinue and city officials would be in attendance was perhaps an appeal to the egos of the involved local sponsors to who wanted to communicate their own cultural sophistication on a wider scale, their complete

¹⁵ Richard Cooper, 'Court Festival and Triumphal Entries under Henri II', *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Ashgate: Aldershot, England, 2002), 64.

satisfaction of the king's entertainment request and an attempt by the author or publisher ultimately to increase sales of the publication.

It is certain that the two versions were meant for different audiences, the French for the wider French merchant and noble classes, the Italian for the local Florentine and Milanese communities who sponsored the events as well as for the Florentine and Italian upper classes in Italy. The Italian account, full of sumptuous details and meant to impress, is much more useful to the modern scholar, and offers information on not only the instruments used, but their pairings with other instruments, giving a rare glimpse into the soundscape of an important entertainment event connected to the triumphal entry.

The entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Rouen, 1550

After his coronation in April 1547, Henri II spent the better part of five years travelling throughout France, making many triumphal entries throughout the way. In his article, 'Court Festival and Triumphal Entries under Henri II', Richard Cooper describes the 'triple purpose' of this tour:

...the symbolic taking possession of his kingdom; the affirmation to a European public of France's image as a military and cultural power; and the extraction of money from the municipalities in return for confirmation of their privileges.¹⁶

In Rouen, the preparations were conducted with work divided amongst the city councillors. The parade route was elaborately decorated with tapestries, side streets barricaded, and the main thoroughfare covered in sand to hide dirt and general untidiness.¹⁷ A procession of the town's corporations, dignitaries, nobility, officials and military took several hours to pass Henri II's gallery before it was the king's turn to parade through the town. A dramatic and violent spectacle of a Brazilian island met the king along the river, complete with a fierce battle between tribes by 300 Brazilian men

¹⁶ Ibid., 51.

¹⁷ *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550: A Facsimile with an Introduction by Margaret McGowan* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1970), 12.

and women who had been brought to Rouen on merchant ships especially for the occasion.¹⁸

At the entrance to the bridge crossing the river Seine was a large *tableau vivant* in the form of a rocky grotto. Described in the text of the festival book, there is an engraved image of Orpheus, Hercules and the Muses entitled ‘Le Massis du Roch à l’entrée du Pont’ (Cat. 15).¹⁹ Orpheus is seen with a harp, surrounded by Muses playing violins and a viol or bass violin (violone). In the bottom right corner Hercules is depicted, battling the Lernean Hydra. In this Rouen’s first entry for the new king, and thus first opportunity to proclaim allegiance to their new monarch, the entry publication proclaimed Henri II a ‘Hercules on earth’, while the appearance of Orpheus on the large rocky tableau calls to mind Apollo and the Muses, a common allegorical theme of the period.²⁰

The replacement of Apollo with his son Orpheus drew a familial connection between these gods, of mythological father and son, and consequently between François I and his son Henri II. Use of string instruments in the tableau represented a higher form of arts and morality, of Orpheus a supreme connection to music, arts and learning and in his placement among the Muses a direct connection to Apollo and reminder of François I’s power and political prowess.

Also in harmony above Orpheus (connected to Henri II) are the symbols of a rainbow and a crescent moon. In her introduction to the facsimile of the Rouen entry, Margaret McGowan gives this explanation for the iconography: ‘The king was another Hercules, powerfully equipped to wage war successfully and bring that peace symbolised by the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁹ Robert le Hoy, *C’est la deduction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dresses, et exhibes par les citoyens de Rouen ville Metropolitaine de Normandie...* (Rouen: Jean Le Prest, 1551), fol. K4v.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. K4v.

crescent moon'.²¹ While it is true that the crescent moon was the symbol of Henri II, it was also the device of his mistress, Diane de Poitiers. The rainbow, symbolising peace, was also known to be the personal emblem of Catherine de Médicis.²² Could the placement of the crescent over the rainbow have been a strategic double commentary on Henri's personal allegiances to Diane, while acknowledging the presence of his wife Catherine at the town's royal entry?²³

The violins (or violas da braccio) played by the Muses are large in size, with a discrepancy in detail that suggests that the depiction was not an accurate portrayal, but stylised and typical for the period and media. Most of the violins have three strings, a flat guitar-style tailpiece, a central round soundhole, very slight or missing waists and large arched bows. Two pegboxes can be seen amongst the four violin players, one being small and clover-shaped, the second in the form of a lute pegbox, with a long tapering rectangular pegbox set back at over ninety degrees. No pegs can be seen.

The viol (bass violin or violone) has a similar crude guitar tailpiece, a central round soundhole and four strings. The depth of the ribs is relatively shallow, calling to mind Italian viols of the early part of the century as previously discussed in Chapter Three. A small pronounced waist sits high on the body of the viol, at the level of the soundhole. It is difficult to discern the shape of the pegbox and the long thin bow is played overhand. The reference to this musical scene in the text records:

²¹ *L'Entrée de Henri II...* McGowan, 22. See also Margaret McGowan, 'The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage', *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Ashgate: Aldershot, England, 2002), 37.

²² Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 99.

²³ For further information on the rivalry of Catherine de Médicis and Diane de Poitiers, and their symbols within contemporary art, see Sheila ffolliott, 'Casting a Rival into the Shade: Catherine de' Médicis and Diane de Poitiers', *Art Journal*, vol. 48, no. 2, *Images of Rule: Issues of Interpretation* (summer, 1989), 138-143.

They addressed me with their violins, and many excellent voices, corresponding in harmonious agreement, to the sweet harmony of Orpheus, touching his harp in time.²⁴

The instruments are referred to as violins, while the depiction clearly includes an instrument played in the downwards viol fashion. In a different surviving publication of the Rouen entry, the same scene is mentioned: ‘Also there was Orpheus on his throne with three goddesses. They played viols’.²⁵ This second entry describes the instruments all as viols. These two publications, referring to the same scene, are a perfect example of the difficulty in accepting textual descriptions of instruments, especially the viol, as historically accurate. While some instruments are very well known and established as part of processions (e.g. the ‘fiffre et tabour’ are the main instruments alongside trumpets cited as part of entry festivities in the first half of the sixteenth century), it can be asserted that the viol, a relative newcomer to the public sphere by the mid-sixteenth century, might have caused some confusion in nomenclature among the non-musician or non-musically educated. By the 1550s the differentiation of viol (‘violle’ or ‘vyolle’) and violin (‘viollon’) in the French language did exist (as so eloquently and vehemently delineated in Jambe de Fer’s viol treatise of 1556, see Chapter Five for more information) but scholars must accept that the vagueness of nomenclature may attest instead to the likelihood that the viol had not yet made a full introduction into mainstream culture, a product of its somewhat recent introduction to France, its foreign connections and mainly professional use.²⁶

²⁴ ‘Lesquelles rendoient ensemble de leurs Violons m’adrez, & pollys d’excellentes voix, correspondantes en harmonieuse concordance, aux doux accordz d’Orpheus, touchant de mesme mesure sa harpe...’. Le Hoy, *C’est la deduction*, fol. Lr.

²⁵ ‘Aussi y estoit Orpheus en son Throsne & trois deesses. Lesquelles jouent de violles’. R. Masselin, *L’Entrée du Roy nostre sire faict en sa ville de Rouen ce mercredy premier de ce moys d’Octobre, pareillement celle de la Royne qui fut le jour en suivant* (Paris: R. Masselin, 1550), modern facsimile with introduction by Auguste Beaucousin, (E. Cagniard: Rouen, 1882), Biii v.

²⁶ ‘Why do we call some [instruments] viols and others violins? We call viols those [instruments] which gentlemen, merchants, and other men of virtue pass their time’. ‘Pour quoy appelez vous Violes les unes, & les autres Violons? Nous appellons violes c’elles desquelles les gentilz hommes, marchantz, & autres gens de vertuz passent leur temps’. Philbert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons et accordez, es voix humaines, fleustes d’Alleman, Fleustes à neuf trous, Violes, et Violons...* (Lyon: Michel du Bois, 1556), fol. 62.

The entry of Charles IX, Catherine de Médicis and Elisabeth de Valois into Bayonne and relevant festivities, 1565

For a researcher of the viol into France during the sixteenth century, foreign accounts of French events have quickly become an essential tool in the search to discover if the viol was particularly used in France at the time, and at what point did it become a common part of musical life. Reading through numerous triumphal entries from the 1510s to the 1570s, it would appear that the most detailed accounts all seem to be written by foreign hands. More information is often given (when the event merited publications in more than one language) in Italian publications and Spanish accounts than their French counterparts.

An excellent example is the entry of Catherine de Médicis, Charles IX and Elisabeth de Valois into Bayonne in 1565. A number of publications exist in French of the entry. In *The Royal Tour of France* edited by Graham and McAllister Johnson, the authors have identified and brought together transcriptions of the publications, as well as Italian publications, part of Marguerite de Valois' memoir and an anonymous eight-page letter written in Spanish which gives a detailed account of the festivities.²⁷ What is noted immediately when one compares the sequence of events in the three languages is that the level of detail and focus of the accounts are all very different.

Musically there is also discrepancy in detail between what is recorded in each version – some musical events are omitted entirely, while some publications give basic but sparsely-detailed descriptions. It is understandable that all events are not recorded in the triumphal entry publications for the sake of brevity, but what also differs greatly is the attention to detail. Take for instance, the floating procession on the Bidasoa River. It was a grand and lavish affair, with an island of Brazilian warriors, a battle with a sea monster, dancing and music by people representing the many corners of France and Spain's empires.

²⁷ Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, eds., *The royal tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: festivals and entries, 1564-6* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

One printed source mentions dancers in this scene, but it mentions nothing of the music.²⁸ Another says the dancers in peasant costumes danced so well that the Spanish marvelled and took such pleasure in it that it was midnight before they left.²⁹

The memoirs of Marguerite de Valois, a twelve-year old girl at the time of the Bayonne entry, give a very detailed account of the regional dancers, the type of dances and the instruments played.

...the Poitevines with the bagpipe, the Provençales the volte with cymbals, the Burgundians and Champenoises with the little oboes, small violin and tambourines of the village, the Bretons dance the passé-pieds and branles-gaïs, as well as all the other provinces.³⁰

The dancers, members of the French court, were dressed elaborately in regional dress from across France, symbolising the French provinces – their harmony within France and the people's pacification and contentment under Charles IX.

It is not surprising that the personal accounts reveal the most information about the splendour of the events. An anonymous Spanish letter, held in the National Library in Madrid, mentions little about the dancers, but goes into great detail about the river spectacle, in which the silver and gold fabric of the sea gods were described, as well as the curling tails of the dolphins. This letter is the only account in which viols and violins were differentiated, as the very specific 'bihuela de arco' or viol, was mentioned in the

²⁸ Ibid., 310. Reprinted from *Ample discours de l'arrivee de la Royne catholique soeur du Roy à saint Jehan du Lus: de son entrée à Bayonne, et du magnifique recueil qui luy a esté fait. Avec declaration des jeux, combats, tourneys, courses de bagues, mascarades, comedies, et autres demnonstrations d'allegresse depuis son arrive jusques à son partementdudict lieu...A Paris Pour Jean Dallier Libraire demeurant sur le Pont saint Michel, à l'enseigne de la Rose blanche. 1565.*

²⁹ Ibid., 289. Reprinted from *L'Entree du roy Charles Neufiesme qu'il fist en sa ville de Bayonne le dimanche troiesme jour de juin l'an mil cinq cens soixante et quatre* (BnF, *Les Cinq cents de Colbert* 140, fols 495r-500v).

³⁰ '...les Poitevines avec la cornemuse; les Provençales la volte avec les cimballes; les Bourguignonnes et Champenoises avec le petit haut-boys, le dessus de violon, et tabourins de village; les Bretonnes dansans leurs passé-pieds et branles-gaïs; et ainsi toutes les autres province'. Ibid., 44. Reprinted from: *Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois* in Petitot, *Collection complete des memoires relaiés à l'histoire de France, 1^{ère} série*, XXXVII (Paris, 1823), 33-34.

same sentence as ‘biolones’ (violins).³¹ This is a vital differentiation between types of bowed string instruments, and the only one of the Bayonne documents or publications that gave such a detailed description. It is unknown but probable that the letter’s author and intended recipient would have understood the difference between these two instruments.

Visual evidence also suggests that viols were used in the Bayonne festivities. The Valois tapestries and drawings in preparation for the tapestries by Antoine Caron provide a visual resource for the river spectacle (fig. 14). Trumpeters and drummers can be seen, a group of musicians are stationed farther back, and in the back right, the dancers in regional costume can be seen dancing to a group of cornet players, mentioned in the triumphal entry published by Vascozan, printer to the king in Paris.

Frances A. Yates gives an excellent account of the musical festivities and their representation in the tapestry of the Water Festival at Bayonne in her book, *The Valois Tapestries*.³² Seen as Cat. 66 in the catalogue, much attention was given in the tapestry cartoon designs for representing the water festival accurately, and the events depicted correspond closely to Marguerite de Valois’ memoirs, published much later in the seventeenth century. In the tapestry, under conservation at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, one can more clearly see bagpipe players, water-nymphs playing cornets, and viol and violin players hiding in the bushes waiting to accompany Arion, who is singing and riding a dolphin.³³ This detail can barely be seen in current identified online images of

³¹ ‘Mas adelante entrando por un braço de rio donde la reyna tenia adereçada la fiesta, estava á un lado el dios de las Musicas sobre tres delfines muy bien hechos con grandisimo artificio y el muy bien adereçado con una ropa larga de tela de oro y una muçeta de tela de plata muy ricamente tocado y una bihuela de arco encimade los delfines cantando ynstancias con otros biolones que estavan en una enrramada e muy lindos bores que respondian mas adelante salieron seis serranas con muy grande artificio con cada...’. *Spanish account of the entry and events into Bayonne, surviving as an 8-folio letter at the National Library in Madrid (Sala de manuscritos r 19)*. Ibid., 317. I would like to thank Dr Laura Fernandez-Gonzalez for her assistance in translation. It must be noted at this point that spelling in the Spanish language, like many other languages of the sixteenth century, afforded many variations, all of which would have been understood. In Spanish, the letter ‘b’ was often used instead of ‘v’ – acknowledging a similarity in sound between the letters that is still heard within the language today.

³² Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1959, reprint 1999).

³³ Ibid., 57-58.

the tapestry, but it is nevertheless a comical and charming detail within the large and intricate tapestry, hinting at the less-than-typical responsibilities sometimes demanded of musicians within an elaborate spectacle.

These tapestries, supposedly based on the drawings of Antoine Caron, were meant to depict realistic musical scenes that were part of the festivities orchestrated by Catherine de Médicis. Solemn, stylised, comical or realistic, the inclusion of music and musical instruments add to the exciting mixture of wondrous sights and sounds. The instrumental ensembles in his drawings correspond for the most part with archival evidence. Many elements of Caron's drawing are similar to the tapestry, but the details are more generic when compared to the tapestry. It is possible Caron was present at the spectacles as court painter, but Roy Strong argues in his book *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* that the style and detail of the drawings offer no concrete evidence that Caron was in attendance. The drawing technique Strong suggests was one of 'synthesis', in which locations, spectacle and foreground portraits are arranged for aesthetic appeal over historical accuracy to offer pristine, dramatic and balanced compositions.³⁴

The artist who created the final cartoons or *modèles* for the Valois tapestries was Lucas van der Heere, a Flemish artist exiled for much of his later life to England. In contrast with Caron's preparatory drawings, the viols depicted in the final tapestries based on van der Heere's cartoons are Italianate in design, and are very different from Caron's viols.

The Valois tapestry which depicts the ball held by Catherine de Médicis for the Polish ambassadors after they elected her son Henri King of Poland in 1573 is an excellent example of how the shapes and style of the depicted viols changed dramatically from drawing to completed tapestry. Depicting Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus, Caron's drawing seen as Cat. 50 features a mixture of viol, lute and harp (stylised ancient lyre) players, while the completed tapestry also introduces wind players amongst the strings. The tall 'mountain' construct was also the featured design on a movable

³⁴ Strong, *Art and Power*, 100.

tableau scene on a chariot one year before on 18 August 1572 for the celebrations of Henri de Navarre (later III)'s marriage to Marguerite de Valois, as described in the memoirs of Luc Geizkofler, a Tyrolian witness to the festivities.³⁵

In the Valois tapestry depicting the festivities for the Polish ambassadors at the Jardin des Tuileries three of the five Muses depicted play large rounded viols with f-shaped soundholes and decorative tailpieces (Cat. 67). A separate fingerboard, purfling decoration and front and back soundboards that overlap the ribs all point to an Italian model and seem to be based on real instruments, albeit with implausibly long necks. Only four strings are depicted on each of the two viols, but this could be due to the difficulty in fitting six strings onto the fingerboard using thread. Examination of viol imagery in other media such as stained glass has also revealed a tendency towards depictions of viols with a lower number of strings, suggesting that the nature of painting on stained glass commonly did not afford enough space to depict (assuming the artist's knowledge and intent) an accurate number of strings.

Great care appears to have been taken in the embroidered depictions of important people and their respective environments in the Valois tapestries, and the same seems to apply to musical instruments, especially in the tapestry of the festivities for the Polish ambassadors at the Jardin des Tuileries, where Apollo and the Muses feature prominently. A closer examination of the viols depicted reveals that their pegboxes, visible on all three of the instruments, also have only four pegs. The correlation of four strings and four pegs suggests that the embroiderers (and probably the initial designs by van der Heere) were not constrained by space, but chose instead to depict bass members of the violin family, instruments increasing in popularity throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

³⁵ Nicolas Le Roux, 'The Politics of Festivals at the Court of the Last Valois', *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Ashgate: Aldershot, England, 2002), 102.

These design details are reminiscent of the engraving of ‘Tritons’, reproduced from the book *Balet comique de la Royne*, published in 1582, just one year before the cartoons were created by van der Heere (Cat. 58).³⁶ The viol depicted is also Italianate in style, with a large wide body, pointed corners, purfling, the appearance of overhanging front and back plates, six strings and f-shaped soundholes. The engraving of the Triton was completed by Jacques Patin, a French artist. The viols (or indeed more likely bass violins) in both of these artworks, the tapestry and the engraved image, seem to have received a greater attention to detail when compared to the majority of viol depictions in France from the second half of the sixteenth century. It seems that the artists depicting these instruments have made a greater effort to depict them in an Italian style, with the focus on specific details as mentioned above, such as body shape, purfling, pointed corners, soundholes, pegbox and overhanging front and back plates.

It is unknown who commissioned the Valois tapestries, but many scholars point to Catherine de Médicis or a connected party, further strengthening the likelihood that the commissioned artists were working with an expected Italianate visual style that would have been automatically assumed by association, if not specifically instructed in design. It would have been unlikely that any artist would have had specific instructions on the musical instruments depicted, but would have more likely used examples found in pre-existing artwork or from real life. In this case, the prevalence of violin family instruments in the royal court during this period may have influenced the physical appearance of these instruments.³⁷

³⁶ Beaujoyeux, Balthazar de, *Balet comique de la Royne, faict aux nopces de monsieur le duc de Joyeuse & madamoyselle de Vaudemont sa soeur. Par Baltasar de Beaujoyeux, valet de chambre du Roy, et de la Royne sa mere* (Paris: Adrian Le Roy et al., 1582). Accessed digitally through the BnF ‘Gallica’ database, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>.

³⁷ For further information on the rise of the violin in sixteenth-century French culture, see Chapter Seven, Postlude.

Setting the scene: representing music through notation, text and images

The use of the viol in Renaissance French entries and events has been discussed in detail in this chapter, including its artistic and textual representation, allegorical connotations and issues of nomenclature. It has been emphasised that accepting these surviving records at face value will lead the modern scholar researching the use of musical instruments in triumphal entry and festival publications down a path that is often vague, imprecise and for the most part questionable in its historical accuracy.

Taking these issues into consideration, it can, however, be asserted that music within triumphal entries and festival entertainment would have been a constant presence – during the procession, in elaborate tableaux scenes, during banquets and balls, at private and public entertainment – dramatically adding to the pageantry of the events, reinforcing a chosen allegorical programme and contributing to a prominent display of cultural refinement, sophistication and taste through the choice of ensemble and repertoire.

The choice by the original authors and publishers to include various musical aspects of the entry, whether accurate through first-hand experience or anticipated in advance through event planning, reveals the level to which these chroniclers saw the portrayal of music as essential to communicating the success and cultural sophistication of the entry. Three different facets of the inclusion of music and musical instruments in triumphal entry publications are discussed in this section: musical notation, practical use of the viol, and engraved images of the viol, comparing and summarizing physical evidence found in all relevant publications.

The author or publisher's intended audience and the publication length and format must also be taken into account here, for many of the entries consulted consisted of a short pamphlet giving a basic resumé of the entry, including the procession route through the town, important participants, the entry's allegorical theme and how it was conveyed in

temporary triumphal architecture, art and ceremony. Until the late 1540s there is no mention of the viol in French triumphal entry publications, and the little afforded space given to descriptions of music and entertainment consisted primarily of variants on the generic statement previously mentioned, ‘and beautiful music was heard’. Shorter pamphlets would have been more affordable to a larger range of people, extending the audience of triumphal entries to the merchant populace, in what otherwise would have been the reserve of the nobility. It also would have been more affordable as a commission by the hosting city, whose desire to impress and entertain the visiting party would most likely have left the city coffers all but empty after the lavish festivities. Larger entry publications, complete with comprehensive engravings of triumphal arches, emblems and related spectacles gave the author a greater opportunity to convey the magnificence of an entry. In these elaborate publications where space was less of a constraint, the author’s choice to include or omit musical details communicated to a greater extent the perceived importance of music within these festivities.

Music used within a festival could be of the region, or from further afield, highlighting the cosmopolitan tastes of the hosting nobility. Used for a broad range of purposes – from the illustrious Florentine performances in Lyon in 1548 to crowd-pleasing entertainment for the masses during delays in the procession – music used during triumphal entries could have been specially commissioned for the event or taken from known sources, and would have included chansons, madrigals, motets, sacred works, fanfares, dance and popular music. Some royal entries were announced with desperately short notice, such as the six weeks advance warning given by Henri II requesting a comedy for the 1548 entry into Lyon, forcing entry organisers to use pre-existing musical and theatrical material for the planned festivities.³⁸

³⁸ Cooper, *Lyon*, 112.

Printed music in triumphal entry publications

While many of the larger triumphal entry publications from the period devote considerable space to engravings of emblems or triumphal arches, only one book has been identified, Le Hoy's publication of the entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Rouen in 1550, that included an example of music supposedly performed during the entry.³⁹ The inclusion of printed music within this book communicated not only the musical events of the entry, but also reinforced a particular type of music as being sophisticated and fashionable.

The notated music was for a four-part chanson, performed for Henri II and Catherine de Médicis by four women seated in a chariot, dressed in richly adorned red and yellow robes. The verse venerates the king, ruling his kingdom with a gracious and noble peace enjoyed and celebrated by his subjects:

Praise and glory, in graceful action,
Singing to God, peace's true inventor,
By whom France in her peace embraces
Her enemies and makes them friends, in greatness,
Long live her King this good protector,
Under whom of peace diverse people [rejoice],
Therefore he is god, so humble in joy and honour,
Because the heavens rejoice in peace.⁴⁰

The music is arranged in part-book formation with all parts facing the same direction. It is anonymous, but future research could reveal the composer.⁴¹ The chanson was placed at the very end of the festival book, unlike the numerous engravings of the procession, arches and tableaux vivants which were placed alongside relevant text as events

³⁹ Le Hoy, *C'est la deduction*, fol. R3v-R4r. A basic recording of the piece, transcribed and played on violin by the author, can be heard at the bottom of this web page, http://www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com/exhibition_emily.html.

⁴⁰ 'Louenge et gloire, en action de grace, Chantons à Dieu, de la Paix vray auteur, Par qui la France en seur repos embrasse, Ses ennemys, faictz amys, en grand heur, Vive son Roy de ce bien protecteur, Soubz qui de Paix divers peuples touyssent, Donc luy est deu, cy bas joye et honneur, Puis que les cieux, de la Paix s'esiouyssent'. Ibid., fol. F.

⁴¹ I did not find any relevant expense records in Rouen, and it is possible they were also destroyed in 1553 along with other records of the period.

unfolded throughout the book. The placement of the chanson at the end suggests it may have been an afterthought and was not part of the original plan for the publication.

The musical event was recorded within the text as part of the entry, in a style typical for French festival books of the period – details of dress and ceremony were paired with lyrics or poetry from the entertainment. The textual reference to the song, including a description of the event and the lyrics arranged in poetry stanzas, was placed appropriately within the Rouen entry timeline. The text does not mention the notated music, making the printed music an unexpected and extremely rare addition to the end of the book.

The inclusion of notated music within the entry publication is also evidence that the author or publisher was in contact with the unnamed composer and most likely with the city's entry organisers.⁴² Taking the added effort to typeset and print the piece suggests the author or publisher made a value judgment that whoever could afford the publication had an interest in the entry's musical events, as well as an ability to read music. By adding printed music to a publication commemorating a grand and lavish royal entry, this singular inclusion tangibly communicated to the sixteenth-century reader (and to modern scholars) what was considered fashionable, culturally refined and fit for a king.

Practical use of the viol in connection to triumphal entry references

Textual references to the viol have been analysed throughout this chapter to explore problems in nomenclature and historical accuracy. Because textual references specifically citing the viol are so few in French triumphal entry publications, the festival book of the triumph and entry into Paris celebrating the marriage of the Dauphin François II and Mary, Queen of Scots in Paris (1558) will be used as a juxtaposing case

⁴² It is also possible that a pre-existing chanson was given new text for the occasion, or that the piece was never performed at all during the festivities.

study on the representation of music in triumphal entries solely as another avenue for glorification, not as a historical record.⁴³

The viol, due to its size and method of playing in a seated or standing position, was connected in French triumphal publications to static musical scenes and traditional music-making situations (such as dances or banquets). In Masselin's book on the entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Rouen in 1550 the viol was connected to Orpheus and the allegorical themes of the entry. As asserted in the introduction, it was likely but not provable that viol players contributed to entertainment, especially for banquets or other similar events where soft instruments would have been used.

Avoiding foreign resources, only one other example has been found that specifically cites the use of a viol. This example from the triumph and entry for the celebration of François II and Mary, Queen of Scots in 1558, is troublesome for the modern scholar for many reasons, which will be explored below.

And marching first (as was said) the following large number of players of musical instruments, such as trumpets, clarions, oboes, flageolets, viols, violins, citterns, gitterns, and infinite others, sounding and playing so melodiously that it was a strongly delectable thing: and the said players were dressed in a livery of red and yellow.⁴⁴

The long list of instruments included as part as part of the procession brings to mind a number of pertinent questions: did these musicians all actually play together walking alongside the marching groups? If viol players did actually participate in the procession, did they march or were they on a chariot or similar mode of transport as illustrated in the *Triumph of Maximilian I* and as reported as part of the festivities for Henri de Navarre in

⁴³ *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe faict au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Valois Roy Dauphin, filz aîné du treschrestien Roy de France Henri II du nom, & de treshaulte & vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d'Estreuart Roine d'Escosse* (Paris: Annet Briere, 1558). Source, www.gallica.bnf.fr.

⁴⁴ 'Et marchant le premier (come dict est) le suyuoient grand nombre de joueurs d'instrumens musicaux, comme Trompettes, Clairons, Haulxbois, Flageolz, Violes, Violons, Cistres, Guiternes & autres infinis, sonnans & jouans si melodieusement que c'estoit chose fort delectable: & estoient lesdictz joueurs habillez de livrée rouge & jaune'. *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe*, 7.

1571? Was this reference to music-making during the procession merely a list of all the instruments the author knew or could think of to represent the inclusion of music in the festivities on a grand scale? Possible solutions are explored below, and each of these change the understanding of the event, and the viol player's place within it.

In Ian Woodfield's book, *The Early History of the Viol*, in a section on why the medieval viol disappeared in the early fourteenth century, he calls as reference Mary Remnant's writing on the practicalities of playing an instrument held downwards between the legs in the 'gamba' position. Remnant argues that as an instrument for travelling minstrels, the medieval viol was unsuitable for the roving nature of their work.⁴⁵ That is, the downwards playing position required the musician to be sitting or standing for larger instruments, making walking about in a procession, at a banquet or other such festivities for a medieval viol player totally impractical. It does make sense, then, that viols are otherwise not cited as part of the marching musicians accompanying a procession in all other entry publications. On first glance, viols in sixteenth-century France would face the same issues.

I have attempted – without success – to identify viols or cellos with a ring-type attachment to the back plate that would have enabled them to be played while walking using a harness (hence allowing the player to march and play at the same time).⁴⁶ In his treatise *Epitome musical* of 1556, Philibert Jambe de Fer does address this practical issue, commenting:

The bass, because of its great weight, is very difficult to carry, hence it is supported with a little hook in an iron ring or other thing, which is attached to the back of the said instrument quite conveniently, so that it does not hamper the player.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 13.

⁴⁶ I would like to thank Dr Brenda Scott for assistance in this enquiry.

⁴⁷ Peter Holman, 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 109 (1982-83), 55.

This is possible evidence that practical issues were overcome by viol players wanting to accompany a triumphal procession through a town, although no instruments with such adaptations exist.

The text reference, seen above, does not mention the possibility of a chariot or other transport in which the musicians sat, citing specifically that a large number of musicians were walking.⁴⁸ Perhaps this statement cannot be taken at face value. As an alternative solution, a pen and ink drawing by Niccolo dell'Abate created most likely in the 1550s has been connected by Sylvie Béguin to designs for the entry of Charles IX into Paris in 1571.⁴⁹ Included as Cat. 21 within the 'Catalogue of Select Images', the subject of Apollo and the Muses on a chariot is a strong visual argument for how viols and other instruments were made portable, and how they fit into the allegorical programme of the entry as a moving *tableau vivant*.

Unless a harness or chariot was used, it seems unlikely then that viol players actually accompanied the procession throughout the town. A third solution is that viols were not part of the procession at all, but included to suggest a sumptuous musical experience, stirring the imagination of readers with a list of many instruments ending in the phrase '& autres infinis' (and infinite others).⁵⁰ The author's desired effect of evoking a great spectacle and aesthetic sophistication within the text by listing numerous instruments was in the same vein as how an artist might communicate the visual concept of an allegory of music through the depiction of a broad range of musical instruments, such as in Baptiste Pellerin's *La Musique*, discussed in detail in Chapter Three.⁵¹ Within this illustration of 'Music', many different types of instruments are being played by Muses in a 'bas' or soft ensemble, with a number of 'haut' or loud wind instruments represented for good measure in the bottom right corner of the work.

⁴⁸ 'Et marchant le premier (come dict est) le suyuoient grand nombre de joueurs...' *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe*, 7.

⁴⁹ Niccolo dell'Abate, *Apollon et les Muses sur un char* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, INV 5854, Recto), Cat. 21.

⁵⁰ *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe*, 7.

⁵¹ See Cat. 38.

Most textual references to music across sixteenth-century triumphal entry publications serve primarily as a basic note of when and how music was included in the festivities. These brief mentions of music (which are much more common than any reference to viols) add to the described scene, evoking for the reader the idea of beautiful, harmonious music, increasing enjoyment of the event for participants and spectators, acting as a vehicle for the allegorical or classical themes of the entry and ultimately contributing to the glorification of the king or visitor.

Visual representation of the viol: a summary

The aesthetic and cultural importance of the viol has been discussed in great detail in this chapter, what now remains is to make a general observation on the manner in which it is represented, and the physical characteristics of these depicted viols. A total of five images of viols have been identified by the author across publications, preparatory drawings of festivals and the related Valois tapestries. All of these viols are depicted in allegorical scenes: four are connected to either Apollo or Orpheus and the Muses, with a fifth being played by Amphion in the entry of Henri IV into Rouen in 1596 (Cat. 68).⁵² The engraving of Amphion playing amongst mason workers represents Amphion's ability to move stones in the building of the wall around Thebes using the sweet sound of his lyre.

Maura Nolan argued in the article, 'Master Narratives of the Middle Ages: Introduction' that this allegorical imagery represented the taming of a patron by an artist, but in this case was more likely make an allegorical connection through the lyre and music to the symbolism of past French kings, as well as hopes for the smooth rebuilding of the nation

⁵² *Discours de la joyeuse et triomphante entree de tres-haut, tres-puissant et tres-magnanime Prince Henri III de ce nom, tres-Chrestien Roy de France & de Navarre, faicte en sa ville de Rouën, capital de la province & duché de Normandie, le Mercredi saizième iour d'Octobre* (Rouen: Martin le Mesgissier, 1596), fol. Er.

under Henri IV.⁵³ From the death of Catherine de Médicis in 1589 and the assassination of Henri III, the country was plunged into chaos without a sovereign; Henri IV, with a distant claim through the Valois line, fought five years of civil war to take the crown.⁵⁴ This allusion in the triumphal entry to the harmonious and effortless rebuilding by Amphion echoed perhaps the desire for Henri IV to reconstruct a nation torn apart by civil war.

The viol represented in the triumphal entry publication was most likely a crude replication of much earlier engravings of the mid-sixteenth century, with a long oval body shape, tapering bottom bout and triangular tailpiece. The soundholes are in a flame shape and the waist is uneven – on one side shallow and wide, the other deep and more rounded. Three strings are present on the fretted neck, a large scroll pegbox can be seen, and the viol is played overhand with a short arched bow.

There is a marked difference in quality (as would be expected) between the engravings found in entry publications and drawings versus the finished tapestries. The engraved images appear to have been completed by lesser-known artists, with viols that were unlikely to have been recreated from real-life observation. Most of the viols are very large in size, with the viol in the 1596 engraving noticeably smaller than the rest. Each artist has chosen to illustrate the viol's body shape in very different ways, a discrepancy which is consistent with most images of viols identified across sixteenth-century French artistic media. All the viols do, however, have long necks in proportion to their bodies, suggesting longer strings. Most have scrolls as a pegbox, except for the viols in Caron's drawing of the festivities for the Polish ambassadors which have lute-style pegboxes bent backwards at a ninety-degree angle. Soundholes range from a central rose in the 1550 Rouen entry, to inward-facing c-shaped soundholes in the Valois tapestry of the

⁵³ Maura Nolan, 'Master Narratives of the Middle Ages: Introduction', *The Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. 106, no. 2 (April 2007): 143.

⁵⁴ Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, translated by Deke Dusinberre, Scott Wilson and Rachel Zerner (Paris: Flammarion, 2003). Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), 8.

water festival at Bayonne and Caron's drawing of the reception for the Polish ambassadors at the Jardin des Tuileries, to f-shaped soundholes in the corresponding Valois tapestry. Physically, these viols bear little resemblance to each other over the fifty-year period in which they were created, but the allegorical connection remains steadfast. It is in this manner of examination that the visual evidence of the viol in triumphal entries and festivals is the most coherent, an ongoing connection to classic allegory.

Conclusion

A study of the use of the viol in triumphal entries and festivals is intrinsically tied into the language, imagery and cultural interactions of the events themselves. Taking evidence at face value leaves the researcher with a distinct lack of information, in both text and visual form, but when placed within a larger framework of artistic significance, cultural sophistication and cultural exchange this evidence reveals an important aspect of the viol's history in sixteenth-century France. While the study of viol use in triumphal entries and relevant publications is in no way straightforward – bringing more questions than answers to the fore – its presence within this genre of historical resource has prompted the exploration of the wider implications of commentary upon music and entertainment within triumphal entry publications in this chapter: the differing expectations and assumed interests of author and reader in various cultures, clashes and discrepancies between textual and visual evidence, and how changing tastes affected interpretations of the viol in allegorical imagery throughout the second half of the century. The importance of viol use and representation within this genre is strongly tied to interpretation of its aesthetic connotations in French culture. While use of the viol may have declined towards the end of the sixteenth century, its allegorical connection to Apollo and the Muses ensured it would maintain cultural importance within triumphal visual language throughout the century.

Chapter Five: Amateur Music-Making and the Viol

Previous chapters have focused on the viol's increasing popularity in France from the second quarter of the sixteenth century onwards. Based on surviving archival documents, printed books and artwork, the late 1540s and 1550s can be understood as a crucial period of the viol's development within French culture. Seen as an instrument of cultural refinement and taste, by the 1550s it had been played in royal and ducal courts for at least twenty years; it began to appear in the most sophisticated and extravagant pageantry and fêtes; it dominated artwork of the School of Fontainebleau as the instrument of choice to represent music and music-making; and it made numerous appearances in illustrious stained glass commissions, drawn and printed media.

With an increased popular awareness of the viol and its place within the upper echelon of society, a shift was also taking place in who wanted to be associated with the viol, or for whom the viol was considered an appropriate pastime. While professional musicians continued to be employed in the households of the nobility throughout the sixteenth century, surviving primary documents from the midpoint of the century point to the viol's changing place in society as an accepted, and indeed promoted amateur instrument. Alongside the lute and keyboard instruments, the viol became an instrument used by the merchant and noble classes for domestic music-making, demonstrating the owner's up-to-the minute fashion sensibilities and in consort form allowed a group of family or friends to play popular printed vocal music of the period.

This chapter investigates the viol's second wave of establishment within French culture by exploring professional promotion of the viol as an amateur instrument through instruction and education, promoted views of the viol through its appearance in printed books and by taking a rare glimpse into the front rooms of sixteenth-century men and women through posthumous household inventories.

The *inventaire après décès* – domestic music, personal collections

The legal documents of sixteenth-century notaries are an invaluable and extensive resource, providing a window into the everyday lives of the Renaissance man and woman. Included in these extensive tomes are legal acts, commercial contracts and inventories of household goods after a death (*inventaires après décès*). The last type of document is of particular interest to this dissertation, as amongst the lists of household goods musical instruments are occasionally recorded. Household inventories have been consulted in Paris, Nancy, Normandy and the Centre regions to identify evidence of viols being played in private amateur situations. Inventories exist in many regional departmental archives, but it is the assemblage of the Minutier central des notaires de Paris that holds the most evidence of amateur viol collections and players in and around Paris during the sixteenth century.

Identified by dedicated and expert scholars at the Archives nationales in Paris, the two volumes of *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris: Inventaires après décès* provide a comprehensive guide to *inventaires après décès* with which to navigate the vast collection of notarial records, including lists of references to musical instruments.¹ Beginning in 1483 in volume one, the period of inclusion for the second volume ends with 1560 and thus has primarily limited my search of inventories in Parisian notarial records to documents before this date. In the smaller and more localised archives départementales visited, inventories were identified and consulted from a broader spectrum of time, from the sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century.

François Lesure also identified and transcribed a number of *inventaires après décès* in his article, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle' which focused on the

¹ Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris: Inventaires après décès, tome premier (1483-1547)* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1982). F. Greffe and V. Brousselle, *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris: Inventaires après décès, tome deuxième (1547-1560)* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1997).

posthumous records of instrument makers.² Lesure's published research has been a useful comparison in content, as a transcribing aid, and has served to extend the period of inclusion to the end of the sixteenth century, albeit with a focus on the inventories of musical instrument makers.³

The most commonly listed musical instrument identified in *inventaires après décès* was the *espinette*, or *épinette*, a generic term used for plucked keyboard instruments during the sixteenth century.⁴ Qualified occasionally by terms such as '*petite*', '*grande*' or '*organisée*', the *espinette*, like other instruments recorded, was found in the household goods of master artisans, merchants, instrument makers, musicians and those who held city, church and royal posts. It was also most commonly recorded as the sole musical instrument in the house, with only a few instances where a *manicordion* was identified alongside an *espinette* among the household goods.⁵ The *manicordion*, or clavichord, was also a popular keyboard instrument found in the inventories. Found on its own from the 1520s, it was rather more frequently recorded among other musical instruments (including the lute and violin) from the 1550s.⁶

Lutes (*luc*) and gitterns (*guitterne*, *guyterne*) were most commonly listed in inventories among other bowed and plucked string instruments from the 1540s onward. Three early inventories from the 1520s and 1530s list lutes as the single musical instrument in the house, but again it isn't until the 1550s that surviving records began to show the lute as part of a collection of musical instruments on a regular basis, primarily paired with plucked and bowed strings.

²François Lesure, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 7 (April 1954), 11-52.

³ A detailed analysis of these records can be found in Chapter Six.

⁴ Edmund A. Bowles, 'On the Origin of the Keyboard Mechanism in the Late Middle Ages', *Technology and Culture*, vol. 7, no. 2 (spring, 1966), 153. Also 'Epinette', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 19, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08884>.

⁵Guillaume Lebreton, Archives nationales, MC ET XX 72 (10 October 1547); Pierre Syonnière, Archives nationales MC ET III 307 (10 November 1556); and the *inventaire des biens* of the Bourghtheroulde family, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, Rouen, 61 J 3 (9 June 1580).

⁶ René Denouveau, Archives nationales, MC ET LXXXVI 95 (21 February 1553 n.st., lute and *manicordion*); and in particular Nicole Masseron, Archives nationales, MC ET LIV 226/D (30 July 1557).

In the inventory of Jean Lelarge, huissier sergent à cheval au Châtelet de Paris, string instruments are the focus of his musical collection:

Item, a small manicordion price xxx sols tournois.

Item a lute with its case price xx sols tournois.

Item two small violins also with their cases and bows, which are priced together xx sols tournois.⁷

Brass instruments feature in some *inventaires après décès*, listed singly, in pairs and consorts from the 1520s – 1560s. Two ‘trompettes de cuivre’ feature in an inventory from 1528, while an inventory from 1548 lists a set of ‘three sackbuts thus a large a medium and a small...xx sols tournois’, giving details of the constitution of the consort alongside a lute also in the inventory.⁸

The viol, however, made rarer appearances in the notarial records consulted across central and northern France. Alongside the extensive research of Lesure and other scholars (see below), a further three records listing viols among the household goods have been identified; two in the Minutier central des notaires de Paris at the Archives nationales in Paris, and one at the Archive départementales de Seine-Maritime in Rouen.⁹ The majority of viols documented thus far have been found in inventories clustering in the years 1557-59, found in sets of four, six and eight.¹⁰ The professions of those documented with viol consorts range from clerical (Nicole Masseron, 1557), musical positions in a cathedral (Guillaume Moncuyl, 1557), to successful merchants with ‘bourgeois de Paris’ (citizen of Paris) status (Jean Marlot, husband of Nicole Cosse,

⁷ ‘Item ung petit manicordion prise xxx s.t. Item ung luc garny de son estuy prise xx s.t. Item deux petits violons aussi garny de son estuy et larchet tel quel prise ensemble xx s.t.’. *Inventaire après décès* of Jean Lelarge, Archives nationales, MC ET IX 139 (16 March 1559 n.st.).

⁸ ‘troys sacquebuttes dont une grande une moyenne et une petite...xx sols tz’. *Inventaire après décès* of Claude Pychart, Archives nationales, MC ET XXXIII 20 (10 March 1548 n.st.).

⁹ Viols found in the records of later musical instrument makers will be discussed in Chapter Six.

¹⁰ As mentioned above, the reference guide to Parisian notarial records ends in 1560, and systematic research, identification and transcription of *inventaires après décès* in Paris post 1560 was not possible within the available fieldwork timelines of this PhD study. It is highly likely that viols would continue to be found after 1560 – I anticipate further study on *inventaires après décès* for future research projects.

1558 n.st).¹¹ Single viols in musical collections also have been identified by past scholars in inventories of 1544 and 1587. Jean de Badonvilliers, seigneur d'Aulnay-la-Rivière and 'maître ordinaire en la chambre des comptes', had one viol recorded in his inventory in 1544 among keyboard instruments and a harp.¹² In 1587 Rasse des Neux, son of one of François I's surgeons, owned fifteen string instruments including seven gitterns, one cittern, one viol and six lutes.¹³

One particular *inventaire après décès* in Rouen prompts the question as to whether the instruments found in this particular house belonged to the gentleman or were in keeping for a musical ensemble, through his employment with the cathédrale de Rouen. The inventory listed the physical goods left behind by Guillaume Moncuyt (misrecorded as Montenyt in the Archive départementales de Seine-Maritime inventory) after the death of his wife in 1557:

Inventory of goods found at the house of Guillaume Moncuyt, organist, after the death of his wife, 1557...Musical instruments
 a regal with case, pipes and counterweights
 a double manual spinet
 a single manual spinet
 a double manicordion
 three or four single manuals
 eight viols
 a lute with case
 two German flutes with cases
 an iron clock with counterweight movement
 a watch
 an organized spinet ____
 ____ of ____ music.¹⁴

¹¹ Jean Marlot, Nicole Cosse's husband was a *marchand mercier*. Translated literally as a materials merchant, the marchand mercier was an entrepreneur working outside the guild system, but within accepted regulations, who could use different types of materials together for decoration and interior design purposes. Many luxury interior items would have been found in their shops.

¹² François Lesure, 'Un amateur de musique au début du XVIe siècle. Jean de Badonvilliers', *Revue de Musicologie*, vol. 35, no. 105/106 (Jul. 1953), 81.

¹³ Carla Zecher, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry, and Art in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 15.

¹⁴ 'Inventaire des biens trouvés chez Guillaume Moncuyt, organiste, après le décès de sa femme, mai 1557...Instruments de musique, unes regallez avec l'estuy, les soufflez et contrepoitz, une espinette double, une espinette simple, un manycordion double, troys ou quatre simples, huit vyolles, ung lucz avec l'estuy, deux flustes d'allemand avec les estuytz, une orloge de fer mouvement cloche contrepoitz et estuy,

Moncuylt appeared in the records of the cathédrale de Rouen during the 1540s and 1550s, beginning in 1541-42, where he was paid as an organist.¹⁵ By 1555 there exist many documents for which Moncuylt was acting in an official capacity for the cathedral, overseeing payments to workers.¹⁶ His last year of recorded employment as an organist was in 1555/56, where it was recorded ‘Moncuylt, organist at a wage of 40 livres’.¹⁷ Judging from the inventory’s date, Moncuylt died shortly before his wife in 1556 or 1557.

From the inventory and the records, it is unclear whether Moncuylt owned these instruments for himself or they were owned by the church and used in relation to his musical post, but it is most likely that they were his own collection. A musical man, and perhaps climbing in importance in the church, Moncuylt would have had the instruments as part of a distinguished personal collection. All of these instruments, the keyboard instruments, the flutes and lute, were common inclusions identified in personal inventories in sixteenth-century France.

Another reference identified in the Minutier central des notaires de Paris further reinforces the likelihood that Moncuylt was in possession of his own collection. Robert Leroy, seigneur de la Motte, valet de chambre ordinaire, had within his collection an espinette that was specifically documented as the property of the Duke of Nivernais, in whose service he was employed: ‘Item an espinette ... vi sols tournois. Said espinette ... belongs to Monseigneur the Duke of Nivernais’.¹⁸ No such phrase was to be found in Moncuylt’s inventory, and there is a particular reason why such an omission is important. *Inventaires après décès* were completed by notaries, who were used for every aspect of

une monster, une espinette organise chez le Ry___ [quil] m___ de s musique.’ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2816.

¹⁵ ‘Compte du meme, de la Saint-Michel 1541 à la Saint-Michel 1542. Guillaume Montcuylt, organiste.’ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2540. A similar record of payment can be found annually from 1545/46 to 1555/56, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2541 – G. 2551.

¹⁶ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2629.

¹⁷ ‘Moncuylt, organist aux gages de 40 livres’. Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2551.

¹⁸ ‘Item une espinette ... vi s tz. Laquelle espinette ... appartenir a monseigneur le duc de nyvernoys’. *Inventaire après décès* of Robert Leroy, Archives nationales MC ET III 303 (22 October 1552). All words in the record are not fully transcribed as it is highly illegible.

legal proceedings in everyday life. Inventories were completed in a prescribed, formulaic manner, with the surviving relatives in attendance as the inventory was conducted from room to room, and required the signature (in name or symbol) of all those present at the end of each day.¹⁹

This official and transparent document, complete with estimated monetary values for all goods, recorded debts, titles and property was then used by the surviving family when goods, titles and property were sold, split among family and debts were paid. While this is not concrete evidence that Moncuyt's musical collection was his own, the nature of the *inventaire après décès* and its legal implications required full disclosure of any discrepancies in ownership within the inventory, and Moncuyt's musical collection would undoubtedly be listed as belonging to its rightful owner, if different from Moncuyt.²⁰

The viols, eight in total, are of particular interest in Moncuyt's inventory. Why were there eight, instead of the more common six that would make up a chest of viols in contemporary England? The number of viols may connect to their use during the period in consorts of four, and the inventory could be counting a collection of two sets of four, even possibly matching sets. It could have easily also been an uneven collection, comprising different instruments purchased as Moncuyt or members of his household learned this new musical instrument.

The inventories of Nicole Masseron, *prêtre bénéficiaire en l'église de Paris, cure de Saint-Cyr-en-Val*, and Nicole Cosse, wife of Jean Marlot, *marchand mercier and bourgeois de Paris*, also contain consorts of viols. Alongside a lute and gittern (*guiterne*) Cosse's inventory from 1558 n.st. lists four viols, further reinforcing the connection of a consort

¹⁹ Many inventories took more than one day to complete. In wealthier households some inventories consulted at the Archives nationales in Paris numbered over ninety double-sided pages and included extensive libraries and jewellery collections.

²⁰ It is also interesting to note that none of the items listed in Moncuyt's widow's inventory were assigned monetary values, as was customary as part of the inventory process.

of four viols to the predominance of the vocal music arranged in four parts during the period.²¹ While it is possible to discredit such a basic argument with evidence of larger, notable collections (a collection of eighteen viols or forty-seven lutes was not a good argument for eighteen or forty-seven-part music), this, like the great majority of identified musical instrument collections in *inventaires après décès* was a playing collection, and the number of viols most likely directly related to the type of music played at the time. These were not grand collections of the consummate collector, they were instruments used by the family to entertain and make music; the collections were built up (like instruments owned by most amateur musicians today) depending on current musical interests, past experience of playing musical instruments, and various opportunities to acquire new musical instruments.

The inventory of Nicole Masseron is particularly interesting for its specific details of bowed string instruments:

- Item a manicordion with a ____ price xxv sols tournois.
- Item ~~seven viols~~ six viols and a broken violin priced together lx sols tournois.
- Item a pair of Regalls with its case of white wood, broken xxx sols tournois.
- Item a small music stand of white wood ____ of leather ... price v sols tournois.²²

The notary began writing the set of bowed string instruments as seven viols, but was perhaps corrected by a member of the family who knew the difference between a viol and a violin, prompting the notary to make a distinction between the two instruments. Seven bowed instruments, six as a viol consort and one violin (albeit in disrepair) that could have just as easily played alongside the viols, is a unique find among sixteenth-century inventories, but it is not unlike the musical collection of Moncuylt in Rouen. A set of six to eight viols would allow a greater freedom to play a range of instrumental

²¹ 'Item ung luc quatre violles une guiterne prise ensemble quatre l tz iiii l tz', 'A lute four viols a gittern (possibly guitar) priced together four livres tournoiz iiii l tz'. *Inventaire après décès* of Nicole Cosse, wife of Jean Marlot, Archives nationales MC ET LXXXVI 98 (17 January 1558 n.st.).

²² 'Item ung manicordion garny d'une s ____ f ____ prise xxv s.tz. Item ~~sept violles~~ six violles et ung violon cassez et romppuzel prise ensemble lx s t. Item ung paire de Regalles garny de son estuy de boys blanc romppuz et casse prise xxx st. Item un petit pupitre de blanc boys ____ de cuyr ... prise v s tz'. *Inventaire après décès* of Nicole Masseron, Archives nationales MC ET LIV 226/D (30 July 1557).

and vocal music, whether it be three, four, five parts or more. Unfortunately neither records designated the sizes of viols.

Carla Zecher mentions a later seventeenth-century inventory in which viols are named as part of the household goods in her book, *Sounding objects: musical instruments, poetry, and art in Renaissance France*. In 1630 the Huguenot poet Agrippa d'Aubigné had left as part of his household goods 'a large viol with its bow, then three other viols and a violin, with which to give concerts of chamber music and accompany songs'.²³ In comparison, no other inventory yet identified in sixteenth-century France gives performance context to the musical collections detailed. The deceased could have been the primary player of all instruments recorded, but this is unlikely considering the popularity of polyphonic music of the period. D'Aubigné's inventory, however, was unusually specific about how the instruments were used, a detail that is unique to this study.

Posthumous inventories have added a more intimate facet to this history of the viol in sixteenth-century France. The identified inventories reinforce the thesis that, unlike Italy or the Low Countries, amateur musicians took until most likely the 1540s to begin embracing the viol as an instrument for domestic music-making.²⁴ Due to the practical limitations of surveying literally thousands of inventories in the Archives nationales within the confines of a doctoral research project, this aspect of research can only report the beginning of such research, not an exhaustive survey. The cut-off date of 1560 in the Archives nationales' invaluable reference volumes does not allow for an easy investigation of a generation of Parisian amateur enthusiasts who may have embraced the viol within their domestic music-making from the mid-point of the century onwards. Future research into posthumous inventories will no doubt reveal many more hidden

²³ 'Une grande viole basse avec son archet, puis trois autres violes et un violon; de quoi donner des concerts de musique de chambre et accompagner des chansons'. Zecher, *Sounding Objects*, 4. Cited from Eugénie Droz, 'L'inventaire après décès des biens d'Agrippa d'Aubigné', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. 11 (1949), 101.

²⁴ See Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, for further information on the inclusion of the viol in domestic music-making in Italy and the Low Countries.

histories of the viol, as well as numerous other instruments, across sixteenth-century France.

Printed music and the amateur market

The personal instrument collections of amateur musicians have been discussed in this chapter, but questions remain as to what type of music they played, and how they learned to play the viol. The following sections investigate the printing trade in relation to music part books, the methods of acquiring music books and repertoires available to viol players. A later section on viol treatises examines Philibert Jambe de Fer's viol treatise *Epitome musical*, the importance within this treatise afforded to establishing a high social status for the viol, its appropriateness for specific circles of society and the claimed differences between French and Italian viols.

By the late fifteenth century cities such as Venice and Antwerp had become important centres for the rapidly-growing printing trade. Along the trade route between these two cities, Paris and Lyon also established themselves as key players in the international printing market. The knowledge behind this new invention had come to Paris from Germany around 1470, and by 1500 sixty printing workshops could be found on the Rue Saint-Jacques in Paris.²⁵ As a major trade centre in its own right, printing was adopted in Lyon as a lucrative international business. Supply had to meet demand, and during the sixteenth century skilled and unskilled workmen flocked to Lyon to learn or work in this booming trade. In a letter of complaint to François I on unfair working hours from journeymen working under a master printer, it was suggested that there were some 3,000 journeymen and apprentices working in the printing trade in Lyon alone.²⁶

²⁵ Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 15.

²⁶ Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 8. Incidentally the hours decided to be fair were from 5 in the morning until 8 at night.

As professional skills shifted in Paris from that of the *écrivain* and *enlumineur* (copyist and illuminator) of illuminated manuscripts to the *imprimeur* and *graveur* (printer and engraver) of printed books, pamphlets and other materials, many of the privileges dictated by the Université de Paris protecting these earlier crafts remained without change.²⁷ As such, the university allowed twenty-four *libraires jurés de l'Université*, or twenty-four official booksellers in Paris. Booksellers that were not officially recognised were still answerable to the University on subjects such as pricing, but could sell their books only at open stalls, such as at the numerous annual fairs, most notably in France at the trade fairs of Lyon four times per year.

It is worth pausing here to discuss the trade fairs, an important international meeting of trade, craft and consumer. James Westfall Thompson published a translation of Henri Estienne's 1574 experiences of the Frankfurt fairs, with added historical context and commentary. Based on Estienne's book, a first-hand understanding of these important commercial fairs can be understood, giving further complementary context to the successful fairs of Lyon, held twice as often as the Frankfurt fairs.

The Frankfurt fairs, held twice a year in spring and autumn, were a major outlet for the main trades of Europe, including the cloth trade of England and the Low Countries, wine from the Mediterranean countries, manufacture and craft from the industrial north and spices from Italy, the gateway to the East. Fair-goers could peruse amongst glass and metals from regional craftsmen, fine cloth and tapestries from Strasburg or Switzerland, wine from Alsace or Italy, animals and horses (for which the fair was very famous) most specifically from the Hansa region.²⁸

²⁷ In 1415 the Université de Paris extended its privileges from just the *papetiers* who made paper, to include the *écrivains* who copied text, *enlumineurs* who illuminated the manuscripts, *relieurs* who bound the books and the *libraires* who sold them. All were under the jurisdiction of the University. Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 15.

²⁸ James Westfall Thompson, *The Frankfort Book Fair, The Francofordiense emporium of Henri Estienne, edited with historical introduction with English translation...*(Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1911), 57.

Soon after the invention of printing, Frankfurt became a centre for trade in printed material, and the number of visitors to the fairs rapidly increased. Booksellers from all over Europe came to offer their newest and most popular publications; from France it is recorded that at the autumn fair of 1557 two came from Lyon and four from Paris. Twelve years later in 1569 the number of book dealers from Lyon had doubled to four.²⁹ Scholars and writers from across the continent also came to the fairs, intent on making business deals with representatives from publishing companies, finding a freelance editor or typesetter, or in search of learned lectures, discussions and debates.³⁰ Men and women of culture also came to the fairs as part of grand tours of Europe, obtaining luxury items such as wine, oil, tapestries and books, in addition to everyday household requirements.³¹ The fairs of Lyon, too, would have allowed visitors to peruse and obtain music books from a large number of sources in one location, making the dissemination of music and musical trends truly international.

In Paris, outside of fair times, the official *libraires jurés* were the main source of new printed music. These large central booksellers would have held thousands of titles, with opportunity to acquire specific books for clients through catalogues published by printing firms listing all available titles. In the case of music books, these booksellers could have had titles at any one time from printing firms in France, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries, as availability and tastes dictated. In addition, larger international printing firms would have had standing accounts with the official booksellers of Paris; they also had depots in France to restock popular titles.³²

With an influx of printed music readily available to the amateur musician in France, pinpointing particular compositions that can be safely attached to the viol-player's repertoire is difficult indeed. Instead, an examination of published music in France is cross-examined with trends in amateur viol playing previously established in this chapter

²⁹ Ibid., 78-79.

³⁰ Ibid., 57-58.

³¹ Ibid., 56-57.

³² Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 16-17.

in an attempt to understand what types of music were readily available and promoted for domestic music-making in sixteenth-century France. The main publisher that will be explored in this section is Pierre Attaignant, as well as Jacques Moderne in Lyon.

Daniel Heartz's comprehensive work *Pierre Attaignant Royal Printer of Music* provides a detailed framework from which to analyse French instrumental repertoire, promoted by the first music printer to receive royal privileges. A catalogue of printed music books by Attaignant can be found at the end of Heartz's book, and according to the titles represented therein the earliest music books specifically for musical instruments were published in 1529 and 1530 n.st. for the lute. Within the same year a treatise on the lute by Oronce Finé was also published by Attaignant.³³ From January 1531 n.st. a series of seven music books were published by Attaignant, setting chansons in tablature for keyboard instruments.³⁴ Two years later two books of four-part chansons were published by Attaignant specifically aimed at attracting players of the transverse flute ('la fleuste dallemant') and the recorder ('la fleuste a neuf trous') by dictating which songs were particularly suited to the instruments.³⁵ A further music book of two-part chansons published c. 1535 also mentions its suitability for flute players.³⁶

Attaignant also published a number of dance music books, set without words, between 1530 n.st. and 1557, the latter published by his widow. The majority of the dance music series was published between 1547 and 1550, but none of these books mention particular instruments, or indeed instruments at all on the title pages.³⁷ Attaignant's dance music publications were clearly intended for instrumental ensembles, however, as the parts are

³³ Ibid., 225, 229, 236 (Heartz's catalogue numbers (hereafter HC) 13, 16 and 21 respectively).

³⁴ Ibid., 236-42 (HC 22-28).

³⁵ Ibid., 250-53 (HC 41, 42).

³⁶ Ibid., 279 (HC 67).

³⁷ Ibid., 230-31, 234-36, 368-70, 372-73, 375-76 (HC 17, 20, 148, 164-66, 170, 172, 173). A further book published in 1543, Jean Conseil's *Livre de dancieries à six parties*, would also have been instrumental music, but no copies exist and it is only known by title in François-Joseph Fétis' *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. Ibid., 326 (HC 115).

provided without text.³⁸ The majority of the pieces in these dance books were ‘gaillardes’, ‘pavanes’ and ‘branles simple’ or ‘gay’, but also included ‘tourdions’ and ‘basse dances’. In 1549 and 1550 a further three books of four-part chansons with text were published, with the specific recommendation ‘Convenable a tous instrumentz musicaulz’ (‘suitable for all musical instruments’).³⁹

While the lute, keyboard instruments, flute and recorder are specifically mentioned by name in Attaignant’s musical publications, what of the viol? Not a single mention of the viol can be identified on the title page of surviving music books published by Attaignant. Attaignant did, however, publish a viol tutor c. 1547 by Claude Gervaise, now regrettably lost. This work appears as part of a reprint of February 14 1555 n.st. (also lost) and is documented by name and with description among the theoretical, practical, vocal and instrumental music books of Sebastien de Brossard in 1724.⁴⁰ Brossard further describes the tutor, commenting that all the songs are provided first in viol tablature using letters, after which the same music is illustrated using ‘normal musical notes’.⁴¹

The choice to illustrate music within the tutor using viol tablature as well as mensural notation would have been to assist the amateur player (perhaps teaching him/herself) in

³⁸ Often the first few words are given if the instrumental arrangement was taken from a piece of music that was originally for voices.

³⁹Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 363-65, 367 (HC 159, 161, 163). *Second livre contenant xxix. Chansons. Esleves. Pour les meilleures et plus frequentes es cours des princes Convenables a tous instrumentz musicaulz...* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1549). *Premier livre des chansons esleues en nombre XXX. Pour les meilleures & plus frequentes, es cours des princes, Convenables a tous instrumentz musicaulz...* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1550 n.st. (reprint)). *Tiers livre contenant xxvij. chansons. Esleves. Pour les meilleures et plus frequentes Es cours des princes. Convenables á tous instrumentz musicaulz...* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1550).

⁴⁰ Ibid., 372 (HC 169). *Premier Livre de Violle contenant dix chansons avec l’introduction d’accorder et apliquer les doigts selon la maniere qu’on a accoutumé de jouer, le tout de la composition de Claude Gervaise. –imprimé par la Veuve de Pierre Attaignant demeurant a Paris près l’Eglise St Cosme le 14 fevrier 1554 avec privilege du Roi pour neuf ans.* (‘First viol book containing ten songs with an introduction to tuning and placing the fingers according to the manner in which one is accustomed to play, all compositions of Claude Gervaise. – printed by the widow of Pierre Attaignant residing in Paris near the St. Cosme church 14 February 1554 with the king’s privilege for nine years’.)

⁴¹ ‘Toutes ces chansons sont d’abord en tablature par a, b, c, d, etc, pour la Violle, et en suite le Sujet est tres bien notté en Musique et Nottes ordinaries’. Ibid., 372.

learning not only where the fingers needed to be placed in order to play the desired melody, but also how this translated to reading the same music from a printed staff. Other earlier examples of viol treatises and manuscript music exist in which viol tablature was used instead of (or alongside) mensural notation. A German manuscript of music viol tablature dates from 1523 and 1524 and is part of what is known as the *Mathematik und Tabulaturbuch des Jorg Weltzell*. The two later treatises are by Hans Gerle, *Musica Teusch* (1532) and *Musica und Tabulatur* (1546).⁴² Gerle's earlier publication, *Musica Teusch*, also illustrated the correlation between viol tablature and mensural notation in a series of charts.⁴³ During the same period, Sylvestro di Ganassi included an engraving of the accord between viol tablature and mensural notation in his 1542 book *Regola Rubertina*, and gave musical examples in both tablature and mensural notation.⁴⁴ It is very likely that Gervaise's lost viol treatise may have closely followed these earlier instructional viol books, adapted musically to suit a French audience.

Brossard also lists Gervaise's lost viol treatise in his eighteenth-century collection among the series of Attaignant's books of dance music, placing it before the second book of dances, published in 1547.⁴⁵ The first book of dance music was printed a number of years earlier in 1543, known only by title, and was a collaboration with another composer, Jean Conseil.⁴⁶ For the fourth and fifth book of dances published in 1550, Gervaise acted as editor, and was termed 'scavant Musicien' ('expert Musician').⁴⁷ It is very likely that after the viol treatise was published c. 1547 Gervaise

⁴² Michael Morrow, '16th century ensemble viol music', *Early Music*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Jul. 1974), 160.

⁴³ Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 109.

⁴⁴ Sylvestro di Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542). Woodfield, *Viol*, 141, 144, an image of the engraving can be found on 148, pl. 88.

⁴⁵ Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 372, 352 (HC 148). *Second livre contenant trois Gaillardes, trois pavaues, vingt trois branles, Tant gays, Simples, Que doubles, Douze basse dances, & Neuf tourdions, En somme Cinquante, Le tout ordonne selon les huit tons...*(Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1547).

⁴⁶ See fn. 39.

⁴⁷ Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 368-69 (HC 164, 165). *Quart livre de dancieries. A quatre parties Contenant xix pavaues & xxxi gaillardes. En ung livre seul, veu et corrige par Claude gervaise scavant Musicien...* Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1550. *Cinquiesme livre de dancieries, A quatre partie, contenant dix bransles gays, huit bransles de poictou, Trente cinq bransles de Champaigne, Le tout en ung livre seul, Veu & corrige par Claude gervaise scavant Musicien...*(Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1550).

had a hand in the preparation of the second and third dance books as well as the subsequent publications in which he was specifically named. The reprint of Gervaise's viol treatise in 1555 was also followed in the same year by a sixth book of dances, also edited by Gervaise.⁴⁸

These instrumental music books, published in rapid succession after Gervaise's viol treatise and clustering around the mid-point of the century, suggest that Attaingnant changed his focus temporarily in musical publications in order to satisfy a growing demand for instrumental music from the second half of the 1540s. Was it due to an increased popularity of the viol during this time, and if so, why was it not mentioned specifically? I believe that it is most likely the case that the dance books were published to coincide with the print (and reprint) of the viol treatise, giving the amateur players a repertoire from which to confidently practice and play. It is even possible that the lost treatise made some reference to the forthcoming dance books, or that booksellers were instructed by the printing company as to their connection. We cannot consult the treatise to satisfy this quandary, unfortunately, and the rest remains speculation.

What can be assessed is the suitability of Attaingnant's printed music for a viol consort. For the instrumental player who could read music, Attaingnant's entire catalogue of printed chansons, motets and psalms would have been at their disposal. Attaingnant's connections to, and promotion of the musical tastes of the royal court would have been a strong attraction to the amateur musician who adopted the viol as a 'noble' pastime, understanding its *au courant* social status and the fashionable music with which it was associated. Viols could, of course, also be played as part of a mixed consort with voices, flutes, recorders, keyboard or plucked instruments, and the individual arrangements of voices among instruments would have indeed made for a pleasant evening's entertainment. In addition to a number of keyboard instruments, a harp and two viols (mentioned above), the 1544 posthumous inventory of Jean de Badonvilliers listed Attaingnant's four-part chansons of 1529 and 1531, motets of Claudin de Sermisy

⁴⁸ Gervaise also edited a further book in 1550 of chansons arranged in three parts. *Ibid.*, 369.

(Attaignant and Jullet, 1542), motets of Johannis Lupi, as well as many other unbound motets and chansons.⁴⁹

The instrumental music published by Attaignant sits comfortably on a set of viols, in comparison to string tunings given by Jambe de Fer's 1556 treatise *Epitome musical* (discussed below) and Mareshall's 1589 treatise *Porta Musices*, which are almost identical save for a whole tone rise in tuning of the treble viol in Mareschall's treatise:

	Treble	Tenor	Bass
Jambe de Fer	C5 G4 D4 A3 E3	G4 D4 A3 E3 B2	C4 G3 D3 A2 E2
Mareschall	D5 A4 E4 B3 F [#] 3	G4 D4 A3 E3 B2	C4 G3 D3 A2 E2 ⁵⁰

Even the ranges of early sets of dances, such as the 1530 *Neuf basses dances deux branles vingt et cinq Pavannes avec quinze Gaillardes en musique a quatre parties*, do not extend in each part past two octaves; the majority of which cover only an octave and a half and are thus suitable for a number of instrument families.⁵¹ Jambe de Fer identified in his treatise a decidedly French model of viol in existence by the mid-1550s, with five strings tuned in fourths throughout.⁵² Earlier viols in France that had not yet been made with the new adopted French style still could have played Attaignant's published dance music, taking for instance the viol tunings found in Lanfranco's contemporary source *Scintille di Musica* of 1533:

⁴⁹ François Lesure, 'Un amateur de musique', 80.

⁵⁰ Woodfield, *Viol*, 200. Minor retuning would have been a normal part of playing part music, for example a bass viol playing music from the *Second livre de dancieries* would have had to retune the lowest string to a D2 in order to play the last note of the second pavanne on fol. XXXI. The scientific pitch notation system here is expressed in octaves. Middle C on a keyboard is C4. C5 is one octave above, immediately following B4 in an ascending scale.

⁵¹ *Neuf basses dances deux branles vingt et cinq Pavannes avec quinze Gaillardes en musique a quatre parties*...(Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1530). Digital copy accessible on Petrucci Music Library, www.imslp.org. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Pr. 31^a/1.

⁵² Jambe de Fer's musical treatise *Epitome musical*, published in Lyon in 1556, included information on a number of different instruments, such as the viol, violin, transverse flute and the recorder. Practical aspects of tuning and fingering sit alongside aesthetic commentary in this important treatise of the period. Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons, et accordez, es voix humaines, fleustes d'Alleman, Fleustes à neuf trous, Violes, & Violons*...(Lyon: Michel du Bois, 1556).

Treble	Tenor	Bass
D5 A4 E4 C4 G3 D3	A4 E4 B3 G3 D3 A2	D4 A3 E3 C3 G2 D2 ⁵³

Printed music was not the only source available to amateur musicians, and it is documented that music was shared and copied onto blank or lined paper. Attaignant even acknowledged that music was shared, or at least that blank staves were useful, for in many of his printed music books he included a number of blank lined pages at the end of the publication. One such example exists of Attaignant's *Chansons musicales, esleues de plusieurs livres par ci-devant imprimés, le tous dans un seul livre...* of 1536, held at the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.⁵⁴ The blank pages found at the end of the book have been used to copy music, and this individual book is an excellent example of how amateur musicians expanded their music collections by sharing among friends or colleagues. Copied by hand are chansons including Pierre Certon's 'Ung Laboureur (au premier chant du coq)' (1538), Denis Brumen's (spelled here Brument) 'L'autrier je vois dans un bosquet' (c. 1535-40) and Claudin de Sermisy's 'Sur le pont d'Avignon'.⁵⁵ Sermisy's piece is estimated to have been published not long after this music book, c. 1536-40, making these three handwritten pieces contemporary additions to Attaignant's printed music book.

In Lyon the specialised typefaces required for printing music books were not used in the city on a regular basis until the 1530s, when Jacques Moderne published the first music book of the series *Motteti del Fiore* in 1532.⁵⁶ Born Giacomo Moderno, the Italian-born

⁵³ Woodfield, *Viol*, 140.

⁵⁴ *Chansons musicales, esleues de plusieurs livres par ci-devant imprimés, le tout dans un seul livre par ci-devant imprimés, le tout dans un seul livre...réimprimées par P. Attaignant, imprimeur et libraire de musique* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1536). Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 282-83. Digital copy accessible on Petrucci Music Library, www.imslp.org. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Res.30345A.

⁵⁵ Jeffrey Dean, 'Brumen, Denis', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41042>. Certon's piece was published by Attaignant in 1538 in the *Second livre contenant xxvij. Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties en ung volume et en deux imprimees...* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1538).

⁵⁶ *Motetti del Fiore. Primus Liber cum Quatuor Vocibus*, Lyon: Jacques Moderne (Lugduni: Iacobum Modernum de Pinguento), 1532. Pogue mentions that a singular Mass was printed in 1528 in Lyon, only a

Moderne was active in Lyon as a bookseller from the 1520s; he was the main music publisher in Lyon for fifteen years, rivalled only by Pierre Attaignant in Paris.⁵⁷ Much of the material Moderne published relied heavily on Italian printed music books coming out of Venice, which provided the French market with a ready source of Italian motets and madrigals. His business as a bookseller between 1523 and 1560 would have imported many of these titles for sale in France, but only a few years after Attaignant's first musical publication Moderne established his rival monopoly on music publishing in Lyon, a city famous for its trade, international populace and flourishing fairs held four times per year.

In comparison to Attaignant, Moderne's publications featured smaller number of French composers, favouring the Italian (and Spanish) tastes of his intended export market following the trade routes to Italy, southern France and the Iberian peninsula.⁵⁸ Moderne did include the compositions of a number of local or French composers, including the Florentine Francesco de Layolle, working as organist in Lyon through the 1530s.⁵⁹ Layolle had connections to the Strozzi, a powerful Florentine banking family based in Venice, and it is documented that his music travelled back through contacts in Lyon to various members of the Italian family.⁶⁰ Many compositions were also directly taken from Attaignant's earlier publications, without reference to the earlier source.⁶¹

His 1550 publication *Musique de joye* of instrumental music comments on the title page that the music was:

As appropriate for the human voice as for learning to play the spinet, violins, and flutes, with basses dances, [beginner] pavaues, galliardes, and branles, where one

few months after Attaignant published his first music part books. Samuel F. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne, Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1969), 16 fn 2.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁸ Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 124.

⁵⁹ Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, 34-41.

⁶⁰ Mary S. Lewis, ed., *Sources and the Circulation of Renaissance Music* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), xxix.

⁶¹ Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 145.

can learn and know the measures and cadences of music, and of all dances.
Composed by diverse author musicians perfect and excellent, of the period.⁶²

Moderne's music book contained works primarily by Adrian Willaert and Julius de Modena; the majority of the book is a direct copy of the Venetian *Musica nova accomodata per cantar et sonar sopra organi, et altri strumenti, composta per diversi eccellentissimi musici*, published by Andrea Arrivabene in 1540.⁶³ In the first section of *Musique de Joye*, the pieces are not structured in the repeated sections of Attaingnant's instrumental dance music publications of the same period, but instead are composed, as named by Moderne in the text, as lengthy instrumental fantasias. Thirty 'Dances Musicales' follow which appear as a series of short repeated sections as appropriate to dance music structures of the period.⁶⁴

While the title page does specifically use the term 'violins', the date when *Musique de Joye* was published at the mid-point of the century (alongside Attaingnant's contemporary dance music) has well been established in this dissertation through archival records, artistic media and printed books to be a great heightening of cultural awareness of the viol, and I would assert that this publication was intended just as much for viols as it was for violins.

The death of François I saw the end of monopolies held by Attaingnant and Moderne, and from 1547 a number of printers began to also print music in Paris and Lyon, with royal privileges. In 1547 the Beringen brothers established a printing business in Lyon, the following year (or 1549) Nicolas du Chemin began printing music books in Paris. In 1550 Robert Granjon received a privilege in Lyon to print 'all kinds of music, including tablatures for lute, guitar, and other instruments'. In 1551 Adrian le Roy and Robert

⁶² 'Appropriée tant a la voix humaine, que pour apprendre a sonner Espinetes, Violons, & fleustes, Avec Basses Danses, éleves Pavaues, Gaillardes, & Branles, ou lon pourra apprendre, & scavoir les mesures, & cadences de la Musique, & de toutes danses. Composées par divers auteurs Musiciens tresparfaictz & excellents, en leur siecle'. *Musique de Joye* (Lyon: Jacques Moderne), 1550. Digital copy accessible on Petrucci Music Library, www.imslp.org.

⁶³ Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, 182.

⁶⁴ *Musique de joye*, fol. Diii^v. The dances begin on fol. E in each part.

Ballard received a privilege to print ‘all books of music, instrumental as well as vocal’. Approximately two years later they received the title *imprimeur du roi*, and became one of the most successful printing firms in the country, with later successions of the company dominating without serious rival until the nineteenth century. At the same time Michel Fezandat received a privilege in 1552 to print ‘Chansons, Masses, motets, tablatures for lute, guitar and other instruments’.⁶⁵ The success of many of these printers was short-lived: Fezandat for instance specialised in tablature for plucked string instruments until his death in 1558. Nicolas du Chemin, however, continued in the printing trade until the 1570s. He was not trained in music, and hired editors for all practical aspects of completing musical publications.⁶⁶

The printed music part books of le Roy and Ballard, so noteworthy as part of a case study in Chapter Three on the use of viol images in drawn and engraved border decoration, leaves the scholar here with much less to tangibly connect to domestic viol-playing in the second half of the sixteenth-century. As a printing house, the activities and output by le Roy and Ballard are impressive. After the death of Pierre Attaignant in 1551, his widow was refused the renewal of Attaignant’s privileges and royal monopoly over music printing in France, and after application, le Roy and Ballard received the king’s privileges c. 1553.⁶⁷

Approximately 3,000 musical works were published by le Roy and Ballard, almost 2,000 of which were vocal chansons. Their repertoire included 207 vocal editions, 123 religious musical publications, seventeen instrumental publications and two theoretical books.⁶⁸ The instrumental publications consist entirely of lute and guitar music in tablature, and of the vocal music publications catalogued by Lesure and Thibault between 1551 and 1598, not a single mention of the suitability for viols or any other

⁶⁵ Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 164-65. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, 16.

⁶⁶ François Lesure, G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d’Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1955), 17.

⁶⁷ Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 165.

⁶⁸ Lesure and Thibault, *Bibliographie*, 20.

instruments has been recorded on the title pages.⁶⁹ As stated before, the paucity of published instrumental consort music, or reference to musical instruments in the publications of le Roy and Ballard does by no means suggest that amateur musicians did not play this music in consort arrangement or as a mixed group of vocal and instrumental musicians. The strong probability was instead that this practice was commonplace, and did not require prompting by the publishers as to the suitability of the music for instrumental or mixed consort.

Due to the flexible and primarily unrecorded nature of music-making in the sixteenth century, the subject of instrumental music repertoire is a difficult topic to address assuredly and in detail. For the amateur musician with an ability to read music, only his or her coffers dictated what could, or could not be obtained and played. Just as musical fashions at court dictated what instruments and musical repertoire the nobility and merchant classes would aspire to, so too did privileged royal printers such as Attaignant reinforce aesthetic tastes outside of the court by proclaiming in printed form what was fashionable at court. Through the medium of print, official and unofficial booksellers introduced foreign and domestic musical trends to amateur enthusiasts through the publication and importation of countless musical books, making the aesthetic and cultural developments of the sixteenth-century more accessible to a wider range of society than ever before.

Marseille's music school

The archives of Marseille are held in three locations: at the Archives départementales du Bouche du Rhône in Marseille, the Archives municipales in Marseille, and the Archives nationales d'outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence. Very few documents detailing payments to musicians exist from the mid-sixteenth century in these collections, and in the documents consulted across the three archives only a few examples of 'trompetes de la ville' are recorded. Marcel Fremiot writes from his archival research in Marseille that

⁶⁹ Lesure and Thibault, *Bibliographie*, 51-248.

there are many documents on festivities, but few on music.⁷⁰ This certainly seems to be the case; at the municipal archives a collection of documents on fêtes and public celebrations from the fifteenth to eighteenth century included expenses (*comptes*) from François I's visit in 1516, many detailed documents from 1559, but no mention of music or musicians.⁷¹

There is evidence, however, that there was amateur and professional music-making in Marseille during the 1540s. André Gouirand listed a few archival records related to music from the 1540s in his book, *La musique en Provence et le conservatoire de Marseille*.⁷² The first is a set of two documents dated November 1545 and January 1546n.st., which detail the establishment of a school for teaching viols, lutes and other instruments. These documents are of paramount importance to research on the viol in sixteenth-century France, as they identify the only known school in France at the time that taught the viol. The full text, as transcribed and translated below, reveals some very important details about the state of viol playing in Provence at the time:

On the request made to the council by Barthélemy de la Crous, maker of viols, cases and other instruments...that he has come newly to this present city, and that he wants to show and teach children to touch and sound the aforesaid instruments, and that there is not in this city another that has the honour the city and to look after the children and keep them from being corrupted in other bad ways, he is to be provided by this city a small house and convenient place for showing the aforementioned children and his duty will be to make his work better and better.

After reading the request made to the council approved (reformed) by them, he is known to the gentlemen of the council and that they can also advise him on what to do.

Item, also...audience with the council...following the commission gave by the present council to him and his companions to find lodgings at the viol maker's, they rented the house of Isabeau Descalis for six months starting on the fifteenth

⁷⁰ Marcel Fremiot, 'Vingt six siècles (ou presque) en musique', *Marseille Revue Culturelle*, no. 176 (March 1996), 6.

⁷¹ Archives municipale de Marseille, AA 169.

⁷² André Gouirand, *La musique en Provence et le conservatoire de Marseille* (Marseille: 1908).

of November past for the price of fifteen florins, require this to be ____ and paid as was requested being advised and consulted.

In addition the said council approves (reforms) the said sum was paid from the council coffers by the treasury general of the city.⁷³

Barthélemy de la Crous (possibly Delacroix or de la Crout) put in the request to the city council of Marseille on 4 November 1545 to open a new music school, and was listed as ‘maker of viols and cases and other instruments’.⁷⁴ De la Crous most likely made and played the instruments he wanted to promote. Making the instruments would have assisted him in having enough varied stock for students to buy, borrow or rent.

De la Crous was also not alone in his venture; the request mentioned de la Crous ‘et ses compaignons’ (‘and his companions’), most likely other musicians, partners in this new venture. De la Crous and his business partners were not from Marseille (‘qu’il est venu nouvellement en la présente ville’, ‘that he has newly come to this present city’), and took advantage of the fashionable and new status of the viol at this time to convince the city councillors to not only approve of the music school to be set up in a small house, but to subsidize it as a worthwhile venture. In the second entry of 8 January 1546 n.st., it

⁷³ Archives municipale de Marseille, BB 35 fol. 201v and 219v. ‘Sur la requeste faicte audict conseil par Barthelémy de la Crous, faiseur de violles et bahus et aultres instrumens, tendant afin que, actendu quil este venu nouvellement en la presente ville et quil a bon vouloyr de monstrier et enseigner les enfans de toucher et sonner cedit instrumens et que en ceste ville ny a point daultre que revient en honneur de ladite ville en garde que lesdits enfans ne se desbauchent en aultres maulvais uzaiges luy estre pourveu par ladite ville de quelque petite maison en lieu conuenable pour monstrier lesdits enfans et ledit suppleant fera son devoyr de mieulx en mieulx. Apres la lecture de ladicte requeste leur audit conseil a estre refforme par Icelluy quil est connus a messieurs les consultz et luy porvuoyz aussi quilz advisent estre a faire’.

‘Item et aussi a cy pause en pleine audience dudit conseil ledit monsieur le premier consul que suyvant la commission donnee par le present conseil a luy et a ses compaignons de trouver lousis au faiseur de violles ilz auroient loue la maison de ysabeau descallis pour six moys commensans des le quinziesme jour de novembre dernier passé pour prix du quinze florins desquelz requiert estre faicte bulletee et payee sur quoy requeste estant advise et consulte’.

‘A pleu audict conseil raffirmer que de ladite somme soict faicte bulletree et payee des deniers communaux par le tresorier general de ladite ville’.

⁷⁴ ‘faiseur de violles et bahus et aultres instrumens’. Archives municipale de Marseille, BB 35 fol. 201v.

was recorded that lodgings were found for de la Crous and his partners, owned by Isabelle Descalis, and rented for six months for fifteen florins.

What this tells us about the viol in Marseille during the mid-1540s is that the viol was fashionable and popular enough through professional music-making to create a strong council interest in subsidising a new school, but also that the viol was a relatively new ‘amateur’ instrument. This was highlighted by the sections of the record which noted that de la Crous was not from Marseille, and that no such school previously existed in Marseille before this point. De la Crous and his companions most likely saw an opportunity in Marseille to establish themselves in a newly popular market.

De la Crous receives no further mentions among the city council records, suggesting the subsidy was for the school’s initial establishment only. Gouirand identified through an earlier source that another school existed in Avignon in 1547, with another person, Claude Moguyer, as the head of the school. It is possible that Moguyer was one of de la Crous’s ‘companions’, or another musician exploiting a popular niche market.⁷⁵

The *Epitome musical*, a surviving sixteenth-century French viol treatise

An important musical treatise that survives from this period is *Epitome musical* by Jambe de Fer, published in Lyon in 1556.⁷⁶ This rare early treatise gives information on a number of instruments, including the viol, violin, transverse flute and recorder. Based

⁷⁵ Gouirand, *La musique*, 38. ‘Cet enseignement musical laïque est signalé, curieusement, à un an d’intervalle par le *Terrier de l’archevêché d’Avignon* qui annonce qu’en 1547 “le maistre d’escole, escoullier de musique, Claude Moguyer, enseignait, dans la rue Notre-Dame-d’Espérance, les jeune enfants aux bonnes lettres et instruments de musique”’. (This civil musical education was highlighted, curiously, after one year by the *Terrier de l’archevêché d’Avignon* that announced in 1547 ‘the headmaster, school of music, Claude Moguyer, teaches, on rue Notre-Dame-d’Espérance, young children the letters and instruments of music’.) Gouirand cites P. Achard, *Recherches pour servir à l’histoire de la musique à Avignon*, as the source, but I was unable to find Achard’s work in Marseille.

⁷⁶ Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons, et accordez, es voix humaines, fleustes d’Alleman, Fleustes à neuf trous, Violes, & Violons...* (Lyon: Michel du Bois, 1556).

in Lyon, Jambe de Fer was a composer. His earliest known musical work was published with Jacques Moderne in 1547.⁷⁷

The section dedicated to the viol is particularly enlightening for its information on the construction, tuning and use of the viol in France. According to Jambe de Fer, 'The viol, in French usage, has only five strings, and those of Italy have six; French viols are tuned in fourths without exception'.⁷⁸ Tuning five strings in fourths reduces the range of the French viol (considering the first position only for comparison's sake) from an Italian viol's two octaves and a fourth to two octaves.

Modern scholars have quoted the tunings Jambe de Fer gave of five strings tuned in fourths as a statement of the 'French' style of tuning a viol. But Jambe de Fer himself declares:

The Tuning of the viols is quite diverse and difficult to put in writing so as to please everyone, in as much as many Frenchmen and others tune it [sic] in various ways. And the Italians tune it differently from the French, wherefore, if I am forced to give you to understand the most convenient and easy [way] that is nowadays current among gentlemen & merchants, you will please not be angry – those of you who do not agree with me in this.⁷⁹

Jambe de Fer also comments on the use (or not) of frets, a flexibility that in modern times is associated more often with a departure from 'historical' performance and even considered an adaption of cello technique.⁸⁰ Suggesting perhaps that frets were a useful tool for the beginning and intermediate player of the viol, he notes:

⁷⁷ Gordon J. Kinney, 'Viols and Violins in the *Epitome musical* (Lyon 1556) of Philibert Jambe de Fer', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 4 (1967), 14.

⁷⁸ 'La Viole à l'usage de France n'a que cinq cordes, & celle d'Italie en à six, la viole Francoise s'accorde à la quarte de corde en corde sans exception aucune'. Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical*, fol. 58.

⁷⁹ Kinney, 'Viols and Violins in the *Epitome musical*', 17. 'L'accord des violes est fort different, & difficile à metre par escript pour contenter un chacun par ce que plusieurs Francoys & autres l'accordent de diverses sortes. Et les Italiens l'accordent au contraire des François, donques si ie m'efforce de vous donner à entendre le plus commode & plus facile que pour le jourd'huy à cours entre gentilz homes, & marchants, il vous plaira n'estre fachez, vous autres qui à ce n'accordez'. Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical*, fol. 58.

⁸⁰ See John Rutledge, 'The Fretless Approach to Gamba Playing', *The Viola da Gamba Society of America Journal*, vol. 28 (1991), 21-47. Rutledge reports on modern approaches to fretless playing as well as identifying commentary from the sixteenth century on the subject.

The said Viol contains within itself from seventeen to eighteen pitches, & more if it is necessary, as much on one part as the other, for all have as many strings, the one as the other, and of frets as many as one wishes. Some good players do not wish for any, as [being] quite sure without any marks of where they should place their fingers.⁸¹

In addition to the practical aspects of playing the viol, Jambe de Fer differentiates between the viol and violin by their social use:

Why do we call some [instruments] viols and others violins? We call viols those [instruments] which gentlemen, merchants, and other men of virtue pass their time.⁸²

With this definition it is clear that by the mid sixteenth century the viol's social use had changed, from the realm of only professional musicians, to great popularity among amateur musicians in the noble and merchant classes. His treatise, as well as printed vocal music would be marketed towards the amateur gentleman player with ample funds to purchase musical publications.

In his treatise Jambe de Fer made a second stark delineation between viol and violin players, to reinforce and promote the viol as the instrument of choice for the gentleman amateur, and the common working connections of the violin. In the treatise, the viol was given an ornate illustration but the violin was not, because 'it can be considered inferior to the viol, also one finds few people playing except for those who in its use work for a living'.⁸³ Making this statement would of course serve Jambe de Fer personally by further promoting his treatise on the viol and undoubtedly earning him more money through sales of his publication. Regardless of Jambe de Fer's personal

⁸¹ 'Ladicte Viole contient en soy de dixsept, à dixhuit tons, & plus s'il est necessaire, autant en à une partie que lautre, car toutes ont autant de cor des l'une que l'autre, & de taste tant que lon veut: aucuns bons joueurs n'en y veullent nulle, comme asseurez sans marquee, ou ilz doivent asseoir leur doigts'. Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical*, fol. 61.

⁸² 'Pour quoy appelez vous Violes les unes, & les autres Violons? Nous appellons violes c'elles desquelles les gentilz hommes, marchantz, & autres gens de vertuz passent leur temps'. Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical*, fol. 62.

⁸³ 'Je ne vous ay mis en figure ledict violon par ce que le pouvez considerer sus la viole, joint qu'il se trouve peu de personnes qui en use, si non ceux qui en vivent, par leur labour'. Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical*, fol. 63.

interests, the omission or inclusion of illustrations was a commentary on what was ‘socially acceptable’ at the time, or acceptable for a specific intended audience.

Another anonymous treatise printed in Poitiers in 1557 lists the hierarchy of string instruments slightly differently, placing the viol in the hands of professional musicians, not gentlemen amateurs: ‘Thus remains the hurdy gurdy for the blind; the rebec and viol for minstrels; the lute and gittern for musicians, and even more so the lute for its great perfection’.⁸⁴

Jambe de Fer also included an image of a highly decorated viol within his printed treatise. It has five strings, a low curved bridge, a fretted neck, pointed corners, deep ribs, a scrolled pegbox with five pegs, no visible fingerboard and a wide tailpiece connected to an end button, seen as Cat.28 in the catalogue.⁸⁵ The body and tailpiece have decorative embellishments, as well as purfling that comes to a point at the neck. On the neck a diagram gives the string names as ‘chanterel, seconde, tierce, quarte and bordon’, as well as illustrating the note names and tablature numbers at each fret.

Conclusion

Through a number of different angles of enquiry, this chapter has examined the further development of the viol in French culture as a new fashionable instrument for the aspiring amateur enthusiast around the midpoint of the sixteenth century. Gervaise’s viol treatise of c. 1547 or before was responding to a surge in interest in the viol in the mid-1540s by certain sections of French society (as Jambe de Fer later termed them, ‘gentlemen, merchants, and other men of virtue’) who had an interest in learning the viol and had enough money to buy the most up-to-date instructional manual, a book that may

⁸⁴ ‘Ainsi demeure la Viele pour les aveugles; le Rebec et Viole pour les menestriers: le Luc et le Guiterne, pour les Musiciens, et mesmement le Luc, pour sa plus grande perfection’. Zecher, *Sounding Objects*, 29-30. From *La maniere d’entoucher les lucs et guitermes*, in *Discours non plus melancholiques que divers, de choses mesmement qui appartiennent a notre France: et al a fin la maniere de bien et justement entoucher les lucs et guitermes* (Poitiers: Enguilbert de Marnef, 1557), 95-6.

⁸⁵ Woodfield, *Viol*, 203.

have cost as much as the instrument itself. Attaignant's publication of several books of instrumental music directly after Gervaise's treatise may have also been a nod towards supplying dedicated music for a rapidly-expanding market.

Barthélemy de la Crous's music school in Marseille, possibly opened by the early part of 1546 n.st. was deemed important enough to merit subsidy by the council of the city of Marseille, at least for its initial setup. The fact that de la Crous was specifically marketing the new school for the instruction of children would have appealed to families intent on obtaining an excellent education for their children, of which musical knowledge and ability was considered an essential element. It is also worth noting de la Crous's argument in the request to the council that an education in music, and specifically instruction on musical instruments (taught of course at his proposed school) would keep children from spiralling into debauchery through bad use of their time, suggesting that not only would his school teach children to play a musical instrument – a foundation for any well-mannered person of sophistication and taste – but that the experience would guide them morally, keeping them from the pitfalls of other temptations.⁸⁶ The music school could have also taken on young musical apprentices, but no notarised agreements have yet been identified attesting to this formal arrangement.

Jambe de Fer made a concerted effort to align the viol with an elevated social and moral standpoint in his treatise of 1556, an argument that was possibly more about the promotion of his product than it was a complete reflection of society's polarised unchangeable opinions on the viol and violin. There are a few examples in the posthumous inventories of violins in the possessions of non-professional musicians, a trend that would be likely to strengthen as the century drew to a close.

Posthumous inventories as a resource still remain tantalisingly untapped, but preliminary research has identified the late 1550s as a point at which consort collections of viols

⁸⁶ '...garde que les enfans ne se desbauchent en aultres mauvais uzaiges...'. Archives municipale de Marseille, BB 35 fol. 201v.

begin to appear in the inventories of amateur musicians, reinforcing the assertion that the viol experienced an increased popularity in the ten to fifteen years previous to these records. The work that now remains is to chart the presence of the viol and viol consorts in Parisian inventories throughout the rest of the century, and in other important centres of French culture.

For the privileged group of music enthusiasts in French society that could read music and had the financial capability, there really were few limitations to the type, quality and quantity of printed music available for their enjoyment.

From the second quarter of the sixteenth century evidence in the form of archival documents and visual media has demonstrated the continuing development of the viol within French culture. A further confirmation of the instrument's cultural establishment in France was the choice of instrument makers to use their previous experience in lutherie to begin making viols, satisfying a growing demand for amateur and professional-quality viols within France. This last stage of the viol's introduction, development and establishment in sixteenth-century France is examined in detail in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six: Instrument-Making and the Viol in Sixteenth-Century France

This thesis has explored the introduction and establishment of the viol in sixteenth-century French culture through the discovery and analysis of archival records and representation in various artistic media. Its use by professional and amateur musicians has been tracked from the second quarter of the sixteenth century onward, with the majority of documents pointing to the viol's popularity in French culture focused around the 1550s. This chapter investigates a subsequent stage in the viol's establishment in French culture – that of its adoption by musical instrument makers as a viable commercial venture alongside other contemporary stringed instruments.

Challenged by a paucity of surviving evidence, the issues faced in the research for this chapter in many ways explains why no comprehensive study on the French viol before 1600 has hitherto been written. Few viols survive with a connection to France in the sixteenth century, and these instruments also reveal problems of attribution, structure and authenticity. Archival documents are used in their place to highlight recorded instances of viol production in France, primarily in Paris.

The *inventaire après décès*, so useful in preceding chapters, is of more limited assistance here. The very nature of such an inventory, completed after the death of its subject, tells of musical instruments left at the end of a maker's life, not sold throughout the duration of his life. This type of document, however, does provide a sort of snapshot of a point in time, revealing both unsold stock, things broken or left unfinished, and relatively current stock intended for present and future sale. Analysing numbers of musical instruments in luthiers' posthumous inventories provides a frame in which to ask questions, speculate, but not necessarily find concrete answers. It is from this angle of inquiry that available evidence has been approached, looking to place it within a history of the viol in sixteenth-century France hitherto established.

The *inventaire après décès* and commercial sales of the viol

François Lesure's comprehensive article on instrument-making in the sixteenth century lists the workshop contents of a number of musical instrument makers working in Paris alongside posthumous inventories of musicians and relevant contracts of musical instruction and engagements. Several instrument makers identified by Lesure held viols in their workshops.

It is worth briefly mentioning at this point terms that were used in these inventories to signify different sizes of viols. During the 1550s terms such as 'basse', 'bassecontre' and 'double bassecontre' were used to signify relatively straightforward sizes of 'bass', 'contrabass' and 'double contrabass', 'taille' seems to have signified 'tenor', and 'dessus' 'treble'. 'Commune' was a term also used, presumably to indicate the most commonly-played size of an instrument. Violins were also qualified using these terms, as well as the more basic 'petit' (small) and 'grand' (large).¹

On 23 March 1551 Philippe de la Canessière, instrument maker, was recorded as having two large violins, a viol and two smaller violins, priced together at fifty sols tournois.² Yves Mesnager, organist and instrument maker, died some time before 2 June 1556, and left amongst his possessions three viols – a bass viol and two other sizes not specified.³ Some thirty years later in 1587 Claude Denis was recorded as having three viols, including two treble (dessus) viols as well as viol strings.⁴ In 1596 the inventory of Pierre Aubry records just one bass viol in his large collection of instruments.⁵

¹ François Lesure, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 7 (April 1954), 17.

² 'Item deux grans violions garniz de leurs estuitz, une violle et ung petit violon garniz de leurs archetz prisez ensemble L s.t.'. 'Item two large violins with cases, a viol and a small violin, both with cases priced together L s.t.' Ibid., 22.

³ 'Item une bassecontre de violle et deux tailles non parfaites prisez ensemble X l. tz'. Ibid., 24.

⁴ 'Item 1 taille de violle prisee XX s. ... Item 2 vieulx dessus de violles prisez X s. ... Item en cordes de violles, tant grosses que menues prisé ens. XL s.'. Ibid., 38.

⁵ 'Premyerement, une basse violle prisee IIII esc.sol.'. Ibid., 42.

Among the hundreds of musical instruments recorded in the posthumous household inventories of Parisian instrument makers identified by Lesure, only eight viols were specifically recorded. If viols were increasing in popularity from the 1540s onward, why have so few turned up in the inventories of instrument makers? Luthiers such as Claude Denis and Pierre Aubry had considerable collections of instruments and materials recorded in their posthumous inventories towards the end of the century. The inventory of Denis included eighty-eight violins and ‘poches’, sixty-seven lutes, sixty-two mandores, seventy-seven bows and forty-seven packets of strings. Aubry’s workshop contained even more, with over three hundred instruments including 169 mandores, seventy-eight lutes and seventy-seven violins.⁶ Between their considerable commercial collections, however, just four viols. What could be the reason for such a wide gulf between the number of viols and other string instruments counted?

There are a few explanations for the lack of viol representation in the *inventaires après décès* of luthiers. It is possible that instruments were not recorded accurately within inventories, and viols could have been described as violins or ‘basse de violon’. In the case of inventories of instrument makers, however, this would have been less likely. As explained in Chapter Five, the official process of creating an *inventaire après décès* was closely monitored by family members and recorded by an authorised notary. Detailed prices were given for all itemised objects or groups of objects, and the family or interested parties present at the creation of the inventory would most likely have had the knowledge to accurately list and price objects in the workshop. Several inventories of instrument makers also give the name of valuers with a specific knowledge of musical instruments, either as makers themselves or as a *maître joueur d’instruments*. In the case of Pierre Aubry, his commercial collection was priced by Robert des Pomp and Jehan Brussart, master instrument makers of Paris.⁷ As mentioned in Chapter Two, the musical

⁶ Ibid., 14.

⁷ ‘Ensuivent la description des etat d’instrumens prisez par Robert des POMP et Jehan BRUSSART, maîtres fayseurs d’ynstrumens à Paris’. ‘Here follows the description of the state of instruments priced by Robert des Pomp and Jehan Brussart, master instrument makers of Paris’. *Inventaire après décès* of Pierre Aubry. Ibid., 42.

instrument collection of Guillaume Masnet, *joueur d'instruments*, was valued by Jehan Langlois, another master instrument maker who was paid seventy livres for this service.⁸

Another possibility is that viols were not popular instruments among professional or amateur players. This however has been proven to be inaccurate by existing posthumous inventories throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, as identified and reported in Chapters Two and Five on professional and amateur music-making. Many musicians had more than one viol; there were examples of collections with consorts of four, six and even eight viols.⁹ The popularity of the viol changed over the course of the sixteenth century, which would explain why most *inventaires après décès* containing viols in personal collections were identified as dating from the 1550s and in how violins outnumber viols at approximately thirty and seventy-five to one in the commercial collections of Denis and Aubry at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Even at the height of the popularity of the viol as reflected by posthumous inventories of amateur and professional viol players, Mesnager only had three viols in stock. Could there be another reason for such small stocks of viols in existing inventories of sixteenth-century luthiers?

With a surge in popularity mid-century, viols would have been in demand and sold when available. This could account for the lack of viols in the luthiers' workshops at their time of death. Put very simply, they were sold and thus would not figure into the leftover stock in the workshop at the time of the luthier's death. It is also worth considering that viols may have been made to order or imported from abroad or other cities as specified by the consumer. During the second half of the sixteenth century, for instance, Lyon was known as a centre for instrument making, where instrument makers such as Gaspar Duiffoprugcar brought the traditions of Northern Italian and even possibly German

⁸ Ibid., 29.

⁹ See Chapter Five.

¹⁰ A Postlude in Chapter Seven highlights how the increasing popularity of the violin family influenced use and popularity of the viol throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

lutherie to France. These viols would have sold immediately as requested and thus again would not figure into the stock holdings registered in the inventories.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, 1530 Antoine, Duke of Lorraine paid Jacques le Bel to bring a set of viols from Paris. Le Bel was paid twenty three écus sols, or as recorded later in the entry ninety-nine *frans*.¹¹ At an adjusted price of 82.5 livres tournois, these must have indeed been extravagant instruments. It is more likely that le Bel was paid for costs incurred during travel as well as either the commissioning of high-quality viols, or the import of foreign-made instruments through a Parisian dealer.

Several inventories of string instrument makers identified by Lesure give detailed descriptions of the instruments, attributing their style to certain schools or centres of lutherie. Violins were made in the styles of Cambrai, Venice and most popularly Brescia and Cremona, capitalising on the established craft and artistic output of these centres. Lutes were made in the styles of Lyon, Padua, Venice, Flanders and Germany.¹² Instruments made in foreign styles were also more expensive. In the inventory of Guillaume Masnet, *joueur d'instruments* dated 8 August 1570, a contrabass violin made in the Venetian style was valued at XVI écus X sols, a similar instrument made in the Parisian style was valued at half that price, VIII écus.¹³ While the difference in price could have been due to varying quality of the instruments and accompanying case, there are several other examples in which instruments made in foreign styles are given elevated values in comparison with local styles.

Lesure also identified a contract dated 31 July 1577 between Pierre Aubry and Antoine Besse, merchant, in which Aubry agreed to make four violins in the Cremonese style. He

¹¹ Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1041.

¹² *Ibid.*, 17.

¹³ 'Item une basse contre de violon, façon de Venize, qui est garnye de ses cordes, archet et estuy de cuyr prisee XVI esc. X s. Item une autre basse contre, façon de Paris, aussi garnye de ses cordes et archet prisee VIII esc.'. 'Item a contrabass violin, Venetian style, that is garnished with its strings, bow and case of leather priced XVI esc. X s. Item another contrabass violin, Parisian style, also garnished with its strings and bow priced VIII esc'. *Ibid.*, 29.

was paid twelve livres tournois upfront, with a further seventy sols tournois when the violins were completed. Two years earlier Besse paid a luthier specialising in lutes to make 200, in diverse styles, most likely for his commercial business selling musical instruments.¹⁴

While instruments ‘in the style of’ a certain centre or maker would have allowed more players to own fashionable instruments of the period, instruments imported from these centres may have held a greater attraction to players focused on the social status of owning ‘the real thing’, i.e. a Cremonese violin, or Lyonnaise lute. For the discerning buyer with a greater access to funds, viols could have been imported from Lyon, Cambrai or Northern Italy to Parisian workshops, or may have even been solicited directly from foreign workshops at the recommendation of professional musicians, teachers or peers. In Lyon, for instance the Italian Nicolas Juli was recorded as a *vendeur d’instruments* or instrument seller between 1573 and 1575.¹⁵

Viol pricing in the sixteenth century

While inventories identified by Lesure or consulted in the Archives nationales in Paris give valuations of the worth of string instruments, it is impossible to fix an average price on the cost of a viol during the sixteenth century. Monetary amounts assigned to viols and other bowed string instruments differ greatly, from roughly nine sols tournois to upwards of sixteen écus d’or, over one hundred times the cheapest instrument valued. This wide range of pricing is not dissimilar to the cost of purchasing violins today, from inexpensive student models purchased online to instruments made by fine craftsmen and played by professional musicians. Without seeing the instruments valued in the posthumous inventories – assessing the quality, condition, craftsmanship and decoration – the foundations for analysing the pricing of bowed string instruments are at best questionable.

¹⁴ Ibid., 31, 32-33.

¹⁵ Jean Paul Henry Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoproutart et les luthiers Lyonnais du xvi^e siècle* (Paris, 1893), 51.

There are also many factors that would have affected the valuation. Knowledge of musical instruments and the market was essential, and although several inventories were assisted by makers or players with an expertise in this area, most would have relied upon the estimations of the family and/or the notary. What can be objectively reported, however, are the trends in valuations: the average price of instruments, the difference in valuations of instruments found in the homes of amateur and professional musicians and the workshops of instrument makers. A short section follows comparing the valuations of viols to violin family instruments, but again without the knowledge of the quality and condition of the specific instruments, these figures are used more as a basis for comparison, rather than analysis.

The middle of the sixteenth century provided the most information on viols and their valuations. From June 1544 to January 1548 n.st. there are seven inventories that list viols as part of the household goods. Of these seven, six provide instrument valuations; the inventory of Guillaume Moncuyt, organist of the cathedral in Rouen, lists eight viols but gives no monetary value for any items recorded.¹⁶ Of these six inventories with valuations, three would have been considered amateur players with a non-musical profession, one was a professional *maître joueur d'instruments*, one was an instrument maker and one was recorded both as an organist and instrument maker.¹⁷ Valuations for instruments found in amateur musician households did not go above 20 sols tournois or one livre per instrument, with fifteen sols being a close average. In 1544 Jean de Badonvilliers, a titled gentleman, had a bass viol valued at 20 sols tournois amongst his collection of instruments, while thirteen years later the priest Nicole Masseron had an entire set of six viols and one (broken) violin valued at sixty sols for the set, or approximately nine sols for each of the viols.¹⁸ It is possible that the difference in

¹⁶ Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2816.

¹⁷ Jean de Badonvilliers (1544), Nicole Masseron (1557) and Jean Marlot (wife's inventory 1558 n.st.) were amateur players. Nicolas Robillard (1557) was a professional player, Philippe de la Canessière (1551) was a luthier and Yves Mesnager (1556) was an organist and instrument maker.

¹⁸ Archives nationales, MC ET VI 68 (4/6/1544), MC ET 226/D (30/7/1557).

valuation was down to the knowledge of the appraiser, but it was also possible that the set of six viols was of a lesser quality, bought as an inexpensive set for music-making and entertainment with friends and family at home.

As a professional player, Nicolas Robillard had three viols that were recorded in his inventory. The higher prices given to these instruments attest to his use of quality musical instruments for his profession, and status as a master musician. The first, a bass viol, was valued at nine livres three sols, and two smaller bass viols were valued together at nine livres ten sols, or approximately four livres fifteen sols each.¹⁹

Philippe de la Canessière, the earliest luthier with recorded viols in his inventory of 1551, had a set of four instruments valued at fifty sols together (two bass violins, a viol and a violin) or twelve and a half sols each.²⁰ These instruments would most likely have been aimed at the amateur market. In contrast, Yves Mesnager, organist and instrument maker had three viols recorded in his inventory of 1556 valued at ten livres together, or between three livres and three and a half livres each. These could have been aimed at an upscale amateur or professional market.²¹ Taking into account remaining inventories at the end of the century of two large commercial workshops, that of Claude Denis and Pierre Aubry, it seems these makers also catered for a range of clients. Claude Denis left three viols in his workshop to be valued – one at one livre and two at five sols, while Pierre Aubry's workshop recorded a bass viol valued at four écus, or twelve livres.²²

For comparison, in the 1550s four inventories exist with violins and violin-family instruments given monetary values. Philippe de la Canessière had three violins with bows valued together in his workshop at forty sols alongside three rebecs made in the Cambray style valued together at sixty sols.²³ Nicolas Robillard, *maître joueur*

¹⁹ Ibid., 25.

²⁰ Ibid., 22.

²¹ Ibid., 24.

²² Ibid., 36-38, 42-44.

²³ Ibid., 22.

d'instruments, and Jean Lelarge, an amateur musician, had moderately priced small violins ('petitz violons') averaging ten sols apiece.²⁴ Etienne Loré, another *maître joueur d'instruments*, had two violins of differing quality, a larger 'taille de violon' for fifty sols with its bow, and one for seven sols six dernier tournois (7.5 sols) with its bow and case.²⁵

There are also more examples of violin family instruments from the 1570s and 1580s, with contrabass violins recorded in three inventories. In his 1570 inventory, Guillaume Masnet, a professional musician, was recorded as having a contrabass violin in the Venetian style valued at sixteen écus, or approximately forty-eight livres, as mentioned above. In 1587, contrabass violins from Brescia and Cambrai found in the workshop of Claude Denis were valued at three écus twenty sols, or approximately five livres each. He also had a contrabass violin in the Parisian style valued at eight écus or approximately twenty-four livres. A similar high price for a Brescian and an elaborately decorated contrabass violin was found two year later in the workshop of Robert Denis le jeune. In comparison to bass viols of the period, these contrabass violins were marginally more expensive than the bass viol found in Pierre Aubry's workshop, reflecting perhaps the quality of the instrument, the contrabass size, foreign origins, or their fashionable status.

Instrument makers in France during the sixteenth century

Following on from the argument that inventories at the end of a life do not necessarily indicate stock that was sold throughout a lifetime, many of the instrument makers identified by Lesure as makers/traders/sellers of string instruments could also have sold viols when they were in their height of popularity. It makes good business sense to make and/or stock instruments that people want to buy, so the likelihood of most luthiers selling viols from the 1540s onwards would have been high.

²⁴ Ibid., 25. Robillard also had a violin with case valued at 20 sol. Lelarge: Archives nationales, MC ET IX 139 (16/3/1558 (1559 n.st.)).

²⁵ Ibid., 23.

Lesure made reference to sixteen musical instrument makers between 1542 and 1625. Of the sixteen makers, Lesure identified seven posthumous inventories recording their commercial collections. Of these inventories, all but one (Mathurin de la Noue, see below) seem to have taken a large interest in stringed instruments. The majority of these inventoried collections included viols, even if in small numbers. The other two not already mentioned above were Robert Denis le jeune, who died some time before 11 October 1589, and Pierre Le Blanc, who died some time before 20 December 1606.²⁶ Denis le jeune's inventory, valued by Robert Despontz and Jehan Brissard, previously mentioned master instrument makers in Paris, consisted heavily at Le Blanc's time of death of plucked instruments, but also included violins, *poches* and two contrabass violins, one in the Brescian style and another in a common style but decorated with a large *lire* in the style of Anthoine Potin.²⁷ Le Blanc's inventory focused primarily on plucked string instruments, parts and materials as well, but also had two violin made in the Parisian style.²⁸

Mathurin de la Noue was an instrument maker stated as coming from Lyon who seemed to have primarily dealt in wind instruments, as his posthumous inventory was entirely composed of flutes, *fifes*, *musettes* and shawms.²⁹ String and wind instruments required different tools and skill sets, and although it is possible de la Noue brought in string instruments for resale, it seems somewhat unlikely from his posthumous collection that he would have focused on the viol or string instruments during his career, ending some time before his posthumous inventory was completed on 11 August 1544.

²⁶ Ibid., 39-42, 47-49.

²⁷ Ibid., 39.

²⁸ Ibid., 48.

²⁹ Ibid., 21-22.

Instrument makers outside of Paris

Outside of Paris, research into instrument-making in sixteenth-century France has primarily focused on Lorraine and Lyon, the work of past scholars Albert Jacquot and Jean Paul Henry Coutagne.³⁰ A brief summary of known luthiers is followed by a more in-depth look at Gaspar (Caspar or Kaspar) Duiffoprugcar (Tieffenbrucker). For the majority of instrument makers listed below, some information is known of the instruments they primarily produced, but no posthumous inventories have yet been identified, meaning it is impossible to know the extent to which (if any) these string instrument makers involved themselves in the manufacture, importation or sale of viols.

As mentioned in Chapter Five, Barthélemy de la Crous was listed as a ‘maker of viols and cases and other instruments’ in Marseille in 1545, the earliest known reference to a viol maker in France.³¹ He is cited in two different entries, both specifically naming him first (before other instruments) as a viol maker.³² In his nineteenth-century catalogue of instruments of the Italian schools, Jules Gallay referred to a luthier by the name of Tywersus working at the court of Lorraine at some point from the first half of the sixteenth century. His student was claimed to be Nicolas Renault of Nancy, who later worked with the brothers Nicolas and Jean Médard. According to Gallay, Renault was later asked to work with André Amati when he was supposedly invited to Paris to create the famous set of string instruments for Charles IX in the 1560s.³³

In Paris, Isaac de Bargaue was mentioned as an instrument maker in a document dated 18 May 1579. Benoit Lejeune was a lute maker living in Lyon in 1557, as identified by

³⁰ Albert Jacquot, *La musique en Lorraine: études rétrospective d'après les archives locales* (Genève: Minkoff Reprints, 1972). Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoprucart*.

³¹ ‘...faiseur de violles et bahu et aultres instrumens’. Archives municipale de Marseille, BB. 35 fol. 201v and 219 v.

³² The second was dated 8 January 1546 (n.st.) in which he was referred to solely as ‘faiseur violes’, or ‘viol-maker’. Archives municipale de Marseille, BB. 35 fol. 219 v.

³³ Jules Gallay, *Les instruments des écoles italiennes* (Paris, 1872), 72-73. The subject of Amati and the set of instruments made for Charles IX will be discussed in Chapter Seven in the Postlude.

Coutagne in archival documents found in the Archives départementales de Lyon.³⁴

Philippe Flac, known as a guitar and lute maker, worked in Lyon between 1568 and 1572. Jehan or Jean Helmer was also a guitar and lute maker working in Lyon during the same time and was German. Between 1568 and 1573 a Monsieur Simon worked in Lyon as a lute maker and player. From 1573-75 later Pierre le Camus was designated a 'foreign' lute maker also working in Lyon.³⁵

André Vinatte lived in Lyon from 1568 until he was killed during the Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572. Vinatte was listed as a viol maker, perhaps the only other known reference to a viol maker by name in France besides de la Crous in Marseille. He lived near the Hôtel-Dieu from August 1568 onwards, and was recorded at the time of his death as a vinegar maker, industrial worker and maker of viols – a skilled trade, it seems, that did not allow him to quit his day job.³⁶

All of these makers, with the exception of Vinatte who was specifically named as such, could have made or imported viols. It has not been possible within the remit of this dissertation to follow such avenues of investigation, and further work is required in this subject area.

Gaspar Duiffoprugcar

An instrument maker of Bavarian descent and trained in Italy, Gaspar Duiffoprugcar worked in Lyon from c. 1533 until his death c. 1571.³⁷ There are a number of viols supposedly attributed to Duiffoprugcar from sixteenth-century France, but these instruments have been fraught with suspicion since the nineteenth century.³⁸ The focus

³⁴ Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoprugcar*, 47.

³⁵ Ibid., 48-49.

³⁶ '...faiseur de violes'. Ibid., 47-48.

³⁷ Ian Harwood and Giulio Ongaro, 'Tieffenbrucker', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed July 21, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27940>).

³⁸ Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoprugcar*, 55.

of this thesis is on the cultural organology of the viol in sixteenth-century France, and thus only a cursory discussion will be presented in this dissertation of these instruments of extremely questionable authenticity.³⁹

The ‘plan de Paris’ viol at the Brussels Musical Instrument Museum, once originally thought to have been made by Duiffoprugcar, has been given a creation date firmly in the nineteenth century within the museum catalogue (fig. 15).⁴⁰ Barak Norman has also been identified as a second maker in connection to this instrument, and the viol has a physical construction and body shape much more in keeping with the numerous viols surviving from the seventeenth century onward.

A second curiously-shaped viol in a private collection at the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague has an inlaid marquetry design on its back of flowers above and a celestial scene below (fig. 16).⁴¹ Ben Hebbert has argued that this instrument was cut much more recently from the front plate of a much bigger (and older) instrument between the soundholes, hence the unusual ornate narrow teardrop shape. The instruments are generally agreed to be nineteenth-century forgeries or adaptations from older instruments, acknowledged as such in the Brussels Musical Instrument Museum (MIM) catalogue.⁴² In her article, ‘Instrument making in Lyon and Paris around 1600’, Florence Gétreau has followed the nineteenth-century trail of what she terms a ‘fantasist biography’ for Duiffoprugcar, citing claims by nineteenth-century historians of Duiffoprugcar’s commission for instruments by François I in 1515 when Duiffoprugcar would have essentially been an infant.⁴³

³⁹ I would like to thank Ben Hebbert for sharing his thoughts on the Duiffoprugcar viols.

⁴⁰ www.mim.be, accession number 1427. <http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=109535&viewType=detailView>.

⁴¹ E. K. Borthwick, ‘The Riddle of the Tortoise and the Lyre’, *Music & Letters*, vol. 51, no. 4 (1970), 384.

⁴² Personal communication with Ben Hebbert. A date of creation of c. 1800-89 has been documented for the ‘plan de Paris’ bass viol in the Brussels collection.

⁴³ Florence Gétreau, ‘Instrument making in Lyon and Paris around 1600’, *Musikalische Aufführungspraxis in nationalen Dialogen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Teil 2, Musikinstrumentenbau-Zentren im 16. Jahrhundert* (26. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium, 6-8 May 2005) (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2007), 179-81.

A whole myth surrounding Duiffoprugcar has been built up on connection to Woeiriot's engraving, and the motto at the bottom of the portrait has very likely been used by nineteenth-century forgers in the ornate decoration of one of Duiffoprugcar's attributed bass viols to enforce a forged connection to the sixteenth-century maker. It reads: 'Viva fui in sylvis, sum dura occisa secure, dum vixi tacui, mortua dulce cano' (I was living in the forest, the cruel axe killed me. Living, I was mute, dead, I sing sweetly).⁴⁴

When compared to the instruments depicted in Woeiriot's engraving, there is no apparent connection in physical shape or decorative style between the discredited attributed viols and Woeiriot's instruments. The instruments that surround Duiffoprugcar are carefully portrayed in a realistic and detailed manner, and appear to be true-to-life illustrations of existing instruments of the period. In comparison to the Brussels MIM viol, the depicted viols differ in body shape, soundhole shape and decorative features such as the tailpiece, fingerboard and scroll. The last three parts of a viol could be replaced, and would have been on an authentic instrument over several centuries, but more permanent features such as the front and back plate do not match any of the viols attributed to Duiffoprugcar. The attributed viols are also heavily embellished, a feature that is not included on any of the illustrated instruments surrounding the instrument maker. Lion-head peg boxes are included in the engraving (on non-visible string instruments) as well as scroll pegboxes (on visible viols), unlike the surviving attributed viols, two of which feature horse's heads as pegboxes.

The objective of this dissertation is to integrate new research into existing scholarship, bringing greater context to the cultural assimilation of the viol in sixteenth-century France. While a distinct lack (or disassociation) of physical evidence certainly hinders an in-depth study of a material object and its use or significance in the culture in which it is found, this hindrance has been turned into an opportunity, prompting interdisciplinary avenues of enquiry that have yielded original research and a deeper understanding of the viol's use in sixteenth-century France. Focusing on what can positively be contributed to

⁴⁴ C. Stainer, *A dictionary of violin makers* (London: Novello, 1896), 25.

modern scholarship, the issues concerning Duiffoprugcar's attributed viols will be given no further focus within this dissertation. Instead, the uncertainty they bring to modern scholarship underlines a greater need for interdisciplinary research, using a broad range of media and sources.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter, though left wanting for clear evidence of increased production of viols during the middle of the sixteenth century, demonstrates that viols were indeed made in France during the sixteenth century in a range of sizes that would facilitate playing polyphonic vocal and instrumental music popular during the period. Viols recorded in personal and workshop inventories ranged in price from approximately nine sols tournois in amateur collections to upwards of twelve livres for a viol of excellent professional quality, with several viols listed around three livres aimed perhaps at the upscale amateur or professional market.

The surviving inventories of instrument makers attest to the likelihood that they also imported and sold instruments from different makers, extending the types and quality of instruments on offer to prospective buyers. The engraving of Gaspar Duiffoprugcar, an instrument maker that it has been established cannot be positively connected to any known viols with his attribution, attests to the range of instruments on offer at a luthier's workshop or saleroom. Among the instruments illustrated in this engraving five-string viols can be seen, re-affirming Jambe de Fer's declaration that French viols differed in construction from contemporary six-stringed Italian viols.

Identification of further collections of viols in posthumous inventories of professional and amateur musicians of the second half of the sixteenth century throughout France will hopefully assist in creating a more solid framework for the understanding of commercial production, importation and sales of the viol in France during this period.

Chapter Seven: Postlude and Conclusion

Postlude: The rise of the violin in sixteenth-century France

During the process of investigating evidence of the viol in sixteenth-century France using a broad range of primary and secondary sources, references to the violin were identified on a regular, if not more frequent basis than the viol. While issues of accurate wording in documents have been questioned and explored in Chapter Two and throughout this thesis, there remains a steady trend throughout the sixteenth century of an increased interest and popularity of the violin and violin family instruments, and a gradual decline of the viol consort.

Violins were recorded as early as 1529 in the court of François I, many of the names later recorded interchangeably as viol players in service to the royal court.¹ In the court of the Charles III, Duke of Lorraine, violins are recorded from 1555-1556 n.st., and the Duke's five violin players travelled with him in 1561-1562 n.st. to Germany.² A band of three violins was also recorded as being maintained by the ducal court for Nicolas *comte* (count) *de Vaudémont*, son of Antoine, Duke of Lorraine in 1557-1558 n.st.³ Violins are recorded throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, with as many as seven in number listed in 1563-1564 n.st. At the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries violinists in the service of the court of Lorraine had their wages also occasionally paid in wheat.⁴

¹ Henry Prunières, 'La musique de la chambre et de l'écurie sous le règne de François I^{er}', *L'Année musicale* (1911), 244-45.

² Archives départementales de Meurth-et-Moselle, B. 1106, B. 1130. The following records cited in this section, unless specifically mentioned, have been taken from the archival inventory guidebooks. It was not possible to view such a broad range of archival documents outside the focus and period of the remit of this dissertation. The specific inventory number has been given for reference.

³ Archives départementales de Meurth-et-Moselle, B. 1115.

⁴ Archives départementales de Meurth-et-Moselle, B. 1138. For payment in kind, see for example: B. 7669 (1592), B. 2169 (1601), B. 5341 (1607) and B. 2047 (1609) where it is specifically recorded that the wages of the *violins du prince* were paid in wheat.

In Rouen, Normandy, many of the documents recording violins come from their engagement by the church or corporations to play at particular events, processions and feast days. In 1578 violins were given five sous to play for the feast day of Saint Laurent.⁵ Much later in the 1680s violins were paid to play during offices at Easter mass, Pentecost and a *Te Deum* at the mass of a Monsieur de Berry.⁶ Violin players were connected to dance music, and in the second quarter of the seventeenth century a Monsieur Le Bret was recorded as a violinist and dancing master.⁷

In 1578 statutes and rules were documented declaring that only master instrument makers and players of instruments ‘high and low’ were allowed to ply their trade in the city, and that they were first required to prove their skills by applying to the *maîtres-gardes* in Rouen. Letters patent were approved the same year by Henri III, confirming the statutes which were enforced until 1610.⁸ These rules and statutes for master instrument makers and musicians were renewed in 1610, and in this document the shawm, cornet and violin are specifically mentioned.⁹

Violinists also seemed to get on the wrong side of the law on a number of occasions in Rouen. In 1634 Simon Talbot was given an official order by the city to not play violins, hurdy-gurdies or any other instrument until after noon, and never when a service was in progress in the nearby church.¹⁰ Almost one hundred years later musicians were still causing trouble for the church, as it was complained that Pierre Lemarchand and his fellow musicians made such a ruckus playing viols and violins outside their house that they repeatedly interrupted solemn processions into the adjacent cemetery.¹¹

⁵ Archives départementales de Seine-et-Marne, G. 8170.

⁶ Archives départementales de Seine-et-Marne, G. 2466.

⁷ Archives départementales de Seine-et-Marne, G. 4868.

⁸ Pascal Joulain, Nathalie Racine and Tony Fercoq, ‘La facture instrumentale dans l’agglomération de Rouen’, in *Etudes normandes*, no. 2 (2005), 39-40.

⁹ Archives départementales de Seine-et-Marne, 5 EP 659/2. Within the same archival box a list of musicians and performers in an ensemble for an ongoing spectacle is beautifully and legibly recorded in detail, listing violins, violas, bass and contrabass, oboe, flute, horn, bassoon and stage staff (5 EP 659/1).

¹⁰ Archives départementales de Seine-et-Marne, G. 6785.

¹¹ Archives départementales de Seine-et-Marne, G. 6325.

In Évreux, approximately 60 km to the south of Rouen, *joueurs d'instruments de muzique* by the name of Regnould Duval, Pierre Dubois, Nicollas Dumoutier and Jacques and Jehan Duval set in contract their association as a group to play at weddings and events in 1610. In the following decades Bernard and Nicolas Duval were both recorded as *joueurs de violon*. As the musical trade was often a family affair, it is a strong probability that these two musicians were related to Regnould Duval, and that the band of musicians would have been proficient on the violin (perhaps among other instruments), long associated with dance music. As their contract stated, they were for hire to 'make music, dance and whatever else was required' at events, including playing dance music as a violin band when contracted.¹²

From the 1550s the increasing popularity of the violin as a courtly instrument was due in great part to Catherine de Médicis, who maintained a band of violins as part of her household. In 1554-55 a group of six Italian violinists were set to the French court for Catherine by the maréchal de Brissac, the French governor of Piedmont. Jeanice Brooks asserts in her book, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France*, that the set six of 'violles' collected from Ferrara, and mentioned in Chapter Two, were most likely instruments of the violin family, intended for the queen's violins.¹³ Members of the royal family, including the king's siblings, queen, and surviving queen mother (certainly in the case of Catherine de Médicis) kept households of their own, which often included musicians. Brooks further states that during the second half of the sixteenth century, reigning queens kept bands of between six and eight violinists, normally Italian, within their retinue.¹⁴ Violinists also served as dancing masters, recorded in the households of Elisabeth of Austria in 1559 and Marguerite de Valois in 1566. A compelling observation for the predominance of violinists in female royal households, Brooks asserts that:

¹² '...pour jouer des instruments, pour dancier et pour faire ce qu'il y apartiendra faire'. A. Chassant, 'Les violoneurs et joueurs d'instruments à Évreux au temps passé', *Almanach de l'Eure*, 1890, 113-14.

¹³ Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 82.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

The consistent association of violins with female members of the royal family stems from the necessary participation of the queen and her female entourage in court balls, and the growth in their number testifies to the increasing importance dance was accorded as a courtly activity.¹⁵

Artistic depictions of musical instruments connected to Catherine de Médicis and dance certainly feature a predilection for Italianate instruments, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four. The large bowed stringed instruments depicted in Balthazar de Beaujoyeulx's *Balet comique de la Royne* are truly Italianate in style, seen in realistic detail in Jacques Patin's engraving, *Figure des Tritons* (Cat. 58). The Valois Tapestry of the *Reception for the Polish Ambassadors in the Jardin des Tuileries*, based on a cartoon created by Lucas van der Heere (Cat. 67), is one of the best examples of Italianate style in the depiction of musical instruments in the 'Catalogue of Select Images' in Volume II, but it is also more likely an accurate depiction of a bass violin.¹⁶ Throughout the second half of the century the viol was the instrument of choice for the representation of Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus, but here an expected Italianate style pervades this depiction of the classic allegorical theme, acknowledging the close role Brooks has identified between members of the violin family and dance in courtly entertainment.

Posthumous inventories, both of personal and workshop collections, also point to a growing interest in the violin during the second half of the sixteenth century. Personal collections of amateur players at the mid-point of the century record only three violins, including a pair of small violins belonging to Jean Lelarge, and one broken violin initially mistaken for a viol by the notary in the collection of Nicole Masseron.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid., 83.

¹⁶ For a more in-depth discussion of these instruments, please see Chapter Four.

¹⁷ 'Item, a small manicordion price xxx sols tournois. Item a lute with its case price xx sols tournois. Item two small violins also with their cases and bows, which are priced together xx sols tournois'. 'Item ung petit manicordion prise xxx s.t. Item ung luc garny de son estuy prise xx s.t. Item deux petits violons aussi garny de son estuy et larchet tel quel prise ensemble xx s.t.'. *Inventaire après décès* of Jean Lelarge, Archives nationales, MC ET IX 139 (16 March 1559 n.st.). 'Item a manicordion with a ___ price xxv sols tournois. Item ~~seven viols~~ six viols and a broken violin priced together lx sols tournois. Item a pair of Regalls with its case of white wood, broken xxx sols tournois. Item a small music stand of white wood covered with leather ... price v sols tournois'. 'Item ung manicordion garny d'une s__ f__ prise xxv s.tz. Item ~~sept violles~~ six violles et ung violon cassez et romppuz ~~et~~ prise ensemble lx s.t. Item ung paire de Regalles garny de son estuy de boys blanc romppuz et casse prise xxx st. Item un petit pupitre de blanc

Lesure's article, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle', gives many more examples of violins within the collections of professional musicians during the second half of the sixteenth century, and by the end of the century violins in the workshop inventories of instrument makers dramatically outnumber viols. Taking into account the concept of the inventory as a snapshot of a point in time, at the time of their death, these makers had a large stock of violin family instruments most likely in order to satisfy a growing trend in the preference and requirement for these instruments in French society.

There are also a number of violin family instruments in existence in museums and private collections that are attributed to Andrea Amati and are believed to have been commissioned by Charles IX and delivered to the French court sometime after 1566. While this does fit within the growing interest for the violin at the French court and in French society during this period, François Lesure and Karel Moens have proven that the royal commission and relevant instruments are based on an eighteenth-century myth.¹⁸ Published as complementary articles in the 2003 edition of *Musique Images Instruments*, Lesure follows the paper trail back to a statement made by J. B. Laborde in 1780 in his book, *L'Essai sur la musique* as the first reference to the royal commission of Amati by Charles IX.¹⁹ Lesure further strengthens his claim with investigative archival research that finds not one reference to the commission, relative payments or the instruments themselves over a period of several centuries. Moens examines the instruments themselves, concluding that the construction of the instruments, varnish and decorative details differ to such a degree that there is no possibility they could be associated with such a claim. In one instance, he notes that the motto of Charles IX, 'pietate et iustitia', painted on two instruments and held up as proof for the royal connection, are actually spelled differently, as 'iustitia' and 'iusticia', a discrepancy

boys couvre de cuyr ... prise v s tz'. *Inventaire après décès* of Nicole Masseron, Archives nationales MC ET LIV 226/D (30 July 1557).

¹⁸ François Lesure, 'La commande à Andrea Amati: parcours d'une legend obstinée', *Musique Images Instruments*, vol. 5 (2003), 61-68. Karel Moens, 'Analyse des instruments conservés', *Musique Images Instruments*, vol. 5 (2003), 71-96.

¹⁹ Lesure, 'La commande', 61.

that never would have happened had they been genuine instruments made by Amati and intended for the French court.²⁰

In addition to the viols attributed to Duiffoprugcar, these instruments are another example of the difficulty in identifying and positively attributing genuine bowed string instruments of the sixteenth century. Regardless of the uncertainty surrounding these instruments, the growing predominance of the violin in the second half of the sixteenth century was strongly connected to the elevated status of dance as a courtly pastime, and its role developed with the changing musical genres promoted at court. The popularity of the viol in consort form lost its appeal, as music of the early seventeenth century headed towards melody-focused homophony and proto-orchestral arrangements found in the Baroque style, musical developments in which the violin reigned *par excellence*.

²⁰ Moens, 'Analyse', 95-96.

Chapter Seven: Postlude and Conclusion

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this dissertation reveals a detailed history of the viol in sixteenth-century France, connecting its introduction, development and establishment to cultural exchange through musical interaction in courtly culture, foreign connections and aesthetic trends in visual media and an increasing interest and promotion of polyphonic vocal and instrumental consort music at the mid-point of the century. The viol's dramatic rise in popular awareness during the 1540s and 1550s was both encouraged by and reflected in its use in pageantry and celebration, through an increased interest by amateur music enthusiasts and through its representation in visual media of the period.

Stained glass, the first medium in which the viol was depicted in any great numbers, introduced this new instrument to the celestial orchestra. By including the viol within a relatively pre-prescribed musical ensemble that essentially had not changed for over one hundred years, *peintre-verriers* brought angel ensembles firmly into the sixteenth century, providing contemporary visual cues the viewer could use to imagine an extra aural dimension, further enhancing an already awe-inspiring vision. A study into depictions of the viol in stained glass also prompted discussion on methods of working versus the finish product, questioning to whom should be assigned artistic responsibility for the final, finished depiction of figures and details (such as musical instruments) within a stained glass window. By providing several examples where similar or identical cartoons were used with dramatically different end results, it can be concluded that glass painters had a great level of freedom within the artistic rendering of a cartoon design; the physical details we see of viols depicted in French sixteenth-century stained glass are down to these individual artists, working from personal knowledge (either real or imagined) of the instrument.

France looked to other cultures, especially contemporary Italy and its strong connection to Classical Antiquity, for inspiration and guidance on matters of aesthetic sophistication, erudite philosophy and outward manifestations of these ideals through art, music and literature. The profound effect of the Italianate ideal on François I and his desire to create an enlightened, refined and learned culture through devoted patronage of the Liberal Arts continued a trend from Charles VIII, Louis XII and their generations, who were deeply affected by their cultural experiences in Italy during the exploits of the 1490s onward.

François I's choice to employ artists of almost entirely Italian origin to decorate the walls of his palaces, maintained and developed by his son Henri II, also shaped the aesthetic style and visual programme of French visual media for generations to come. These Italian artists, at the same time working within their learned foreign styles and cultivating a decidedly new French visual language, chose the viol as one of their main symbols of music to communicate chosen mythological and allegorical programmes across a wide range of visual media. Placed in the hands of Apollo and his Muses, the viol became a symbol for the highest forms of music, creating for its viewer a visual representation of fashionable culturally-sophisticated music of the period.

The printed medium took on this new vogue for the viol and its strong connections to the elevated ideas of 'Music', one of many in a long line of stringed instruments from classical antiquity to represent *harmonia mundi* or music of the spheres. The artworks and visual programme of the School of Fontainebleau were more widely disseminated in print form, and the use of the viol became part of a French decorative style.

Evidence of the viol in visual depictions of triumphal entries and festivals continued the School of Fontainebleau's allegorical connection to Apollo and the Muses from the midpoint of the sixteenth century onward. As a resource, Chapter Four has demonstrated, however, that an understanding of how viols were represented visually and textually in triumphal entry publications was intrinsically tied to the language, imagery and cultural

interactions of the events themselves, often posing more questions than answers. Investigating the viol within this genre has prompted discussions of the differing expectations and assumed interests of author and reader in French versus foreign cultures and their respective publications, clashes and discrepancies between textual and visual evidence, the communication of ‘splendour’ in publications and how changing tastes affected physical depictions of the viol in allegorical imagery throughout the second half of the century. Although the lack of detail in textual descriptions of musical events seem to downplay the importance of the viol (and indeed many other instruments) at these impressive spectacles, the viol’s allegorical connection to Apollo and the Muses ensured it would maintain a level of cultural importance within triumphal visual language throughout the century.

The desire to emulate the musical sophistication and ensembles found at other courts may have prompted Antoine, Duke of Lorraine to obtain a set of four viols, retraining in-house musicians with pre-existing knowledge and experience of polyphonic music to play as a consort of viols or to accompany themselves while singing. Evidence of the development of in-house viol players in the 1530s and 1540s connects viols to the Duke’s private chapel, and to the children of the chapel. Mathieu Lasson, as *maistre des enfans* was also recorded as arranging repairs for the viols themselves and buying clothing for the unnamed viol consort. A later payment in 1548 again connects the choirboys to bowed string instruments when Loys de Savoie taught them how to play the ‘the viols and violins of Spain’.¹

As established in Chapter Two, this in-house cultivation of viol players for instrumental or solo accompaniment has been documented in the Low Countries, England, Scotland, as well as at the French royal court, and it may have been suggested to the Duke as a means of establishing viol players in the court at a lower expense, as well as supporting talented young musicians by providing them with additional transferable (and employable) musical skills.

¹Archives départementales de Merthe-et-Moselle, B. 1057. See Appendix I.

Increasing employability by developing proficiency on more than one instrument certainly comes into play in the royal court, where it has been established that professional instrumental players were recorded throughout their career in a range of musical roles, some within one type of instrument family, such as bowed strings or winds, others, such as Pierre d'Auxerre, recorded in connection with the viol, violin, shawm and as a singer.² The term *joueur d'instruments* has been explored in depth in Chapter Two proposing that it was not necessarily a term used by scribes of indifferent generalisation, and that it was instead often used to more aptly describe the multi-faceted roles musicians played within a household. Evidence in support of this claim has been provided in the form of numerous payment records and posthumous inventories of master musicians of the period.

The adoption of the viol as an acceptable and promoted pastime for gentleman amateurs can be directly tied to the viol's increased popularity at the royal and ducal courts, and its amplified presence in visual media of the mid-sixteenth century. For the privileged group of music enthusiasts in French society that could read music and had the financial capability, there really were few limitations to the type, quality and quantity of printed music available for their enjoyment. As musical fashions at court dictated what instruments and musical repertoire the nobility and merchant classes would aspire to, so too did privileged royal printers such as Attaignant reinforce aesthetic tastes outside of the court by proclaiming in printed form what was fashionable at court. Through the medium of print, official and unofficial booksellers introduced foreign and domestic musical trends to amateur enthusiasts through the publication and importation of countless musical books, making the aesthetic and cultural developments of the sixteenth-century more accessible to a wider range of society than ever before.

² Christelle Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}* (Paris: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2002), 280.

Gervaise's lost viol treatise of c. 1547 or before was responding to a surge in interest in the viol in the mid-1540s by certain sections of French society (as Jambe de Fer later termed them, 'gentlemen, merchants, and other men of virtue') who had an interest in learning the viol and had enough money to buy the most up-to-date instructional manual, a book that may have cost as much as the instrument itself. Attaignant's publication of several books of instrumental music directly after Gervaise's treatise may have also been a nod towards supplying dedicated music for a rapidly-expanding market.

In his book, *Epitome musical*, Jambe de Fer made a concerted effort to align the viol with an elevated social and moral standpoint, an argument that was possibly more about the promotion of his product than it was a complete reflection of society's polarised unchangeable opinions on the viol and violin. His treatise also specifically outlines the differences between the French viol, having five strings tuned in fourths, and the Italian viol, possessing six strings and tuned similarly to a lute. The 'French' style of tuning in fourths, however, he claims is only one way, given in the treatise as a popular and convenient choice among 'gentlemen & merchants'.

Barthélemy de la Crous's music school in Marseille is the first known example of a music school in France that catered for a growing interest in the viol and other instruments during the middle of the sixteenth century. Opened most likely by the early part of 1546 n.st., it was deemed an important enough venture to merit subsidy by the council of the city of Marseille, at least for its initial setup. De la Crous's focus on the educational merits of the music school may have been an important deciding factor for the city council. The fact that de la Crous was specifically marketing the new school for the instruction of children would have appealed to families intent on obtaining an excellent education for their children, of which musical knowledge and ability was considered an essential element. It is documented in the archival record that participation in the instrumental music school would keep children from other bad uses of their time, suggesting that learning a musical instrument (taught of course at his proposed school) would keep children from spiralling into debauchery. This seems to communicate the

belief by de la Crous (and most likely the council) that the experience of musical education – a foundation for any well-mannered person of sophistication and taste – would guide the children morally, keeping them from the pitfalls of other temptations.

Alongside instructional treatises and the rare example of a music school in Marseille, initial research into posthumous inventories also attests to a developing interest in the viol as an instrument for domestic music making in the 1540s and 1550s. The main evidence of viols in numbers that would facilitate consort music-making cluster in a number of personal inventories dating to the end of the 1550s, while these and other examples of solitary viols in posthumous collections would allow for mixed ensemble-playing or solo accompaniment. Further research into these fascinating documents in the second half of the sixteenth century should complement evidence found in payment records and visual media that suggests that the viol maintained popularity in French culture, at least for the first few decades of the second half of the century.

Increased knowledge of personal inventories should also assist in creating a more solid framework for the understanding of commercial production, importation and sales of the viol in France during the sixteenth century, as the workshop inventories of instrument makers do not reflect the flow of instruments in and out of their salerooms throughout their careers. Evidence in the form of personal and workshop inventories do, however, demonstrate that instrument makers and sellers active in France during the sixteenth century had viols available for sale in a range of sizes, from treble to contrabass, providing amateur and profession musicians with instruments that were capable of playing polyphonic vocal and instrumental music, in consort arrangement or as a mixed ensemble. Instrument makers catered for a wide clientele-base, offering instruments (and most likely matched sets) of varying quality and price, from nine sols for basic models to twelve livres for excellent-quality professional instruments. Several inventories list viols for around the three livres mark, catering perhaps to the upscale amateur and professional market.

The fundamental aim of this dissertation has been to investigate the cultural assimilation of a material object: what happens when a musical instrument is taken from one culture and introduced into another. The fate of the viol in France during the sixteenth century was ultimately influenced by the courtly contexts in which it was used, the way in which artists utilised it in visual media to communicate aesthetic, allegorical and religious ideals, and in consort form the suitability of the viol as an instrumental vehicle for the flourishing vocal music genres of the period. In this dissertation, a more detailed understanding of the viol in French and European sixteenth-century culture has been presented, giving due attention and consideration to this important Renaissance musical instrument.

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Appendices

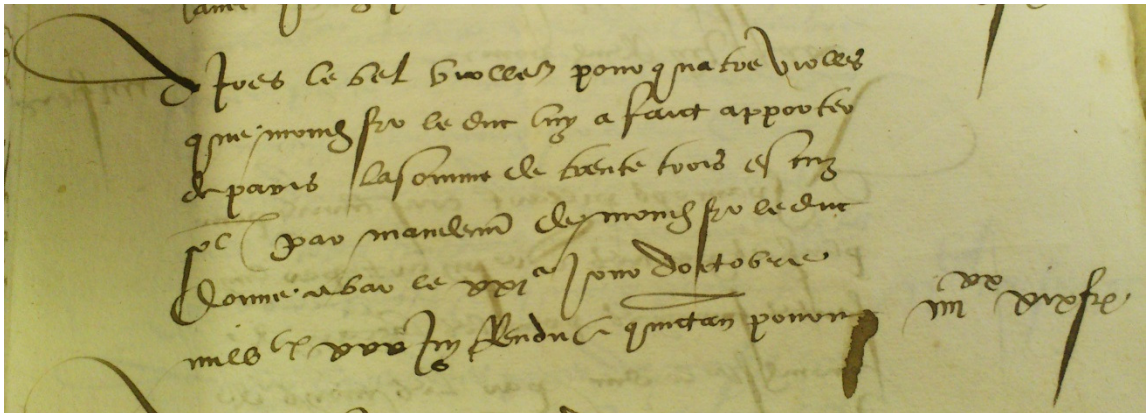
Appendix I: Archival Documents by date

Appendix II. *Inventaires après décès* by date

Appendix III. Comparative Illustrations

The archival documents selected for inclusion in Appendices I and II directly relate to the viol in sixteenth-century France, and are mainly limited to original research. For all other identified documents, a reference, including transcription and translation, has been included within the chapters. Secondary sources have been cited where appropriate.

Appendix I. Archival Documents by date

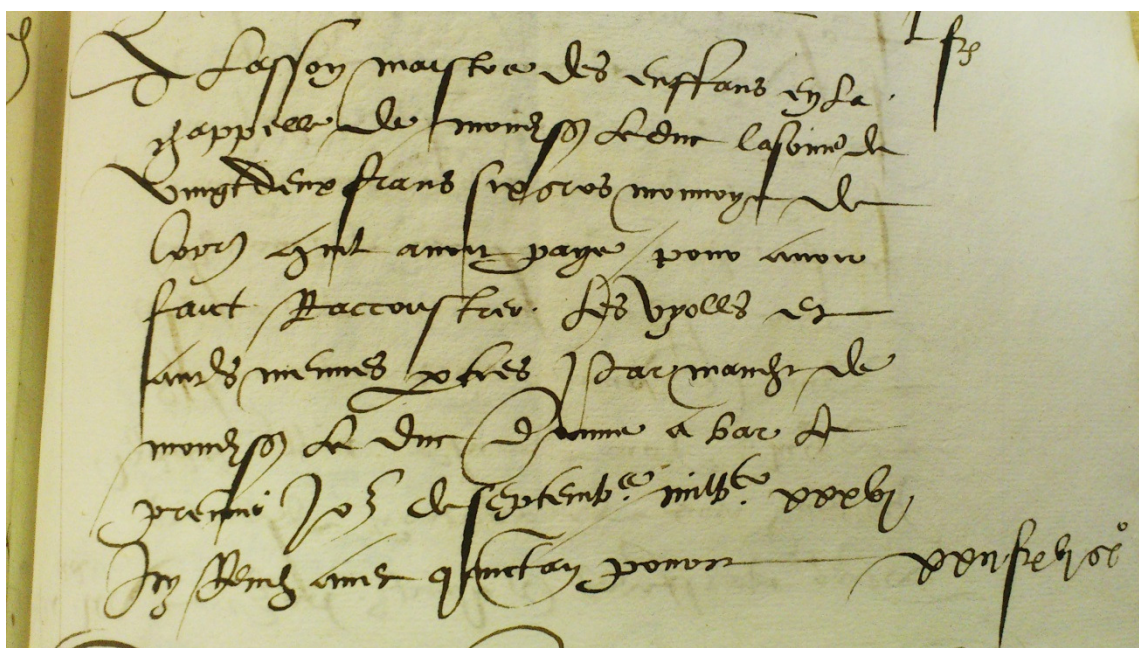


Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1041

21 October 1530

‘A Jacques le Bel violleur pour quatre violles que monsieur le duc luy a faict apporter de paris la somme de trente trois escuz sol par mandement du monsieur le duc donne a bar le xxi jour d’octobre mil c^v xxx Icy Rendu avec quictance pour ce iiii^{xx} xix frs’.

‘To Jacques le Bel violist for four viols that Monsieur the Duke had him bring from Paris the sum of thirty-three escuz sol by the mandate of Monsieur the Duke given (paid) at Bar the twenty-first day of October 1530 Here rendered with receipt for this ninety-nine frans’.

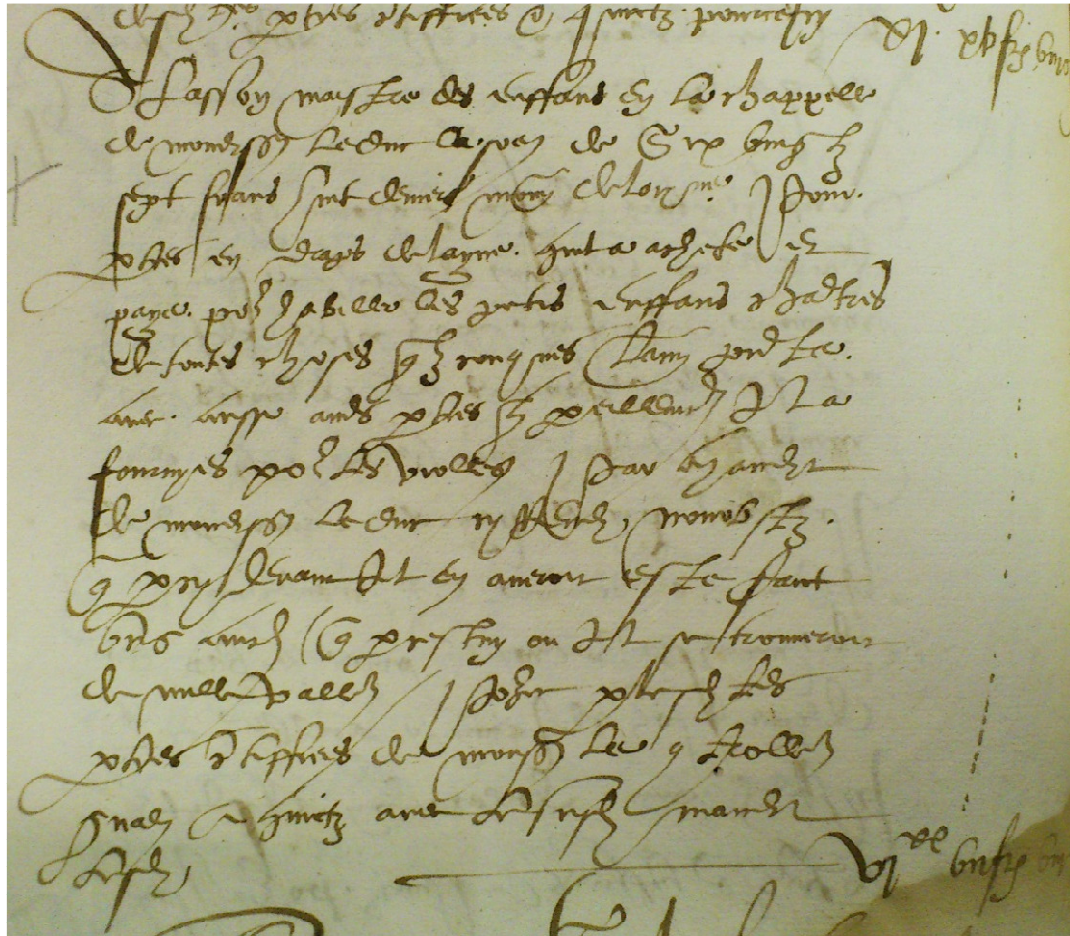


Archives départementales de Merthe-et-Moselle, B. 1057

1 September 1536

‘A L'asson maistre des enfans en la chappelle de monsieur le duc la somme de vingt deux frans six ecus monnoye de lorraine quil avoir paye pour avoir faict raccoustrer les vyolles et audites mesmes comptes par mandement de monsieur le duc donne a bar le premier jour de septembre mil v^c xxxvi Icy rendu avec quictance pour ce xxii frs vi or’.

‘To L'asson master of children in the chapel of Monsieur the Duke the sum of twenty-two frans six ecus money of Lorraine that he paid for having the viols repaired and the aforementioned same expense by the mandate of Monsieur the Duke given (paid) at Bar the first day of September 1536 Here rendered with receipt for this xxii frans vi or’.



Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, B. 1063

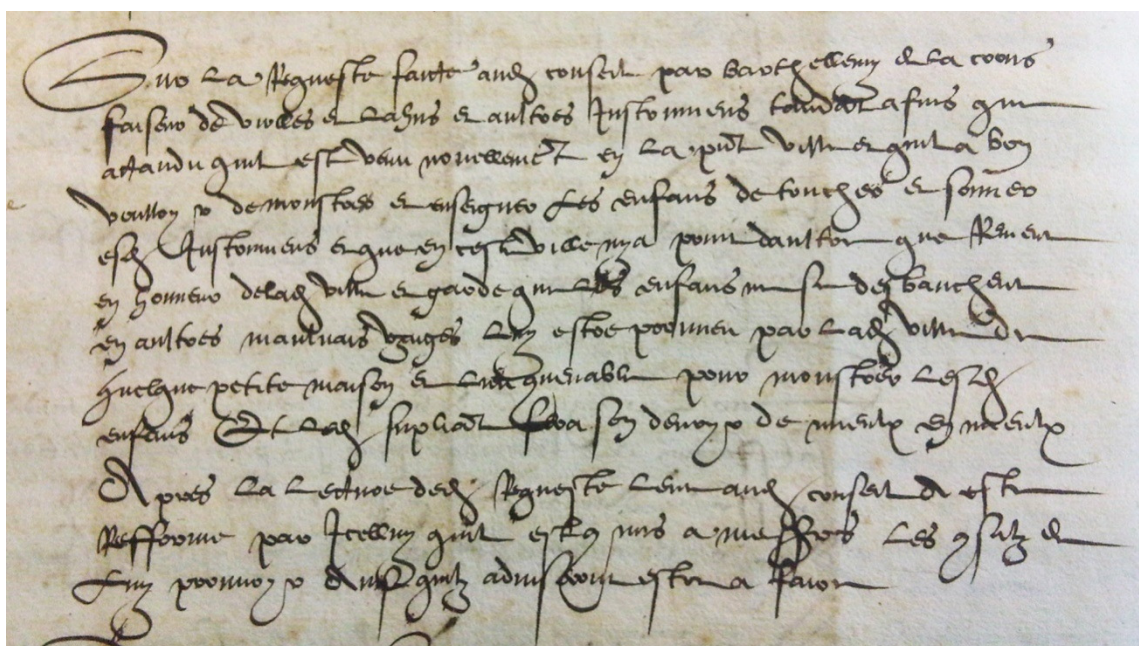
1540

‘A Lasson, maistre des enfans en la chapelle de mondect seigneur le duc, la somme de six vingt sept frans huict deniers monnoye de Lorraine, pour parties de draps de layne qu’il a acheté payé pour habiller les petis enfans chantres de toutes choses quelconques l’année présente, avec aussi autres parties que pareillement il a fournies pour les violles, par mandement de mondect seigneur le duc cy rendu, nonobstantz que par cy devant il en avoit esté faict un autre que par cestuy où il se trouveroit de meilleur valeur pour

lesdictes parties certifiées de monsieur le controlleur général, avec quittance et avec certification lesdicts vi^{xx} vii frs viii dn’.

‘To Lasson master of the children in the chapel of my said seigneur the Duke, the sum of six score (twenty) and seven (127) frans eight deniers money of Lorraine, for items of woollen cloth that he bought and paid (for) for clothing the children singers and everything else needed for the current year, with also other items that similarly he provided for the viols, by the order of my said seigneur the Duke here given, notwithstanding that previously another one was made which might give better value for the abovementioned certified items of Monsieur the auditor given with receipt and certification the said vi^{xx} vii frs viii dn’.

I would like to thank Professor Philip Bennett for his assistance in the transcription and translation of this record, and Dr Cristina Diego-Pacheco for providing a complete transcription of the record.



Archives municipale de Marseille, BB 35 fol. 201v

4 November 1545

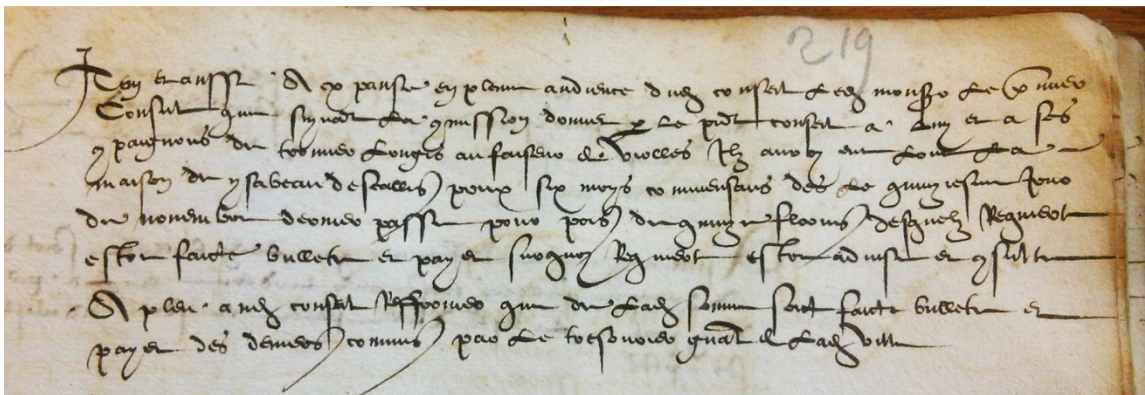
‘Sur la requeste faicte audict conseil par Barthellemy de la Crous, faiseur de violles et bahu et aultres instrumens, tendant afin que, actendu quil este venu nouvellement en la presente ville et quil a bon voulluyr de monstrier et enseigner les enfans de toucher et sonner cesdits instrumens et que en ceste ville ny a point daultre que revient en honneur de ladite ville en garde que lesdits enfans ne se desbauchent en aultres mauuais uzaiges luy estre pourueu par ladite ville de quelque petite maison en lieu conuenable pour monstrier lesdits enfans et ledit suppleant fera son deuoyr de mieulx en mieulx’.

‘Après la lecture de ladicte requeste leur audit consêil a estre refforme par Icelluy quil est connus a messieurs les consultz et luy poruoyz aussi quilz advisent estre a faire’.

‘On the request made to the council by Barthélemy de la Crous, maker of viols and cases and other instruments...that he has come newly to this present city, and that he wants to show and teach children to touch and sound the aforesaid instruments, and that there is not in this city another that has the honour the city and to look after the children and

keep them from being corrupted in other bad ways, he is to be provided by this city a small house and convenient place for showing the aforementioned children and his duty will be to make his work better and better’.

‘After reading the request made to the council approved (reformed) by them, he is known to the gentlemen of the council and that they can also advise him on what to do’.



Archives municipale de Marseille, BB 35 fol. 219v

8 January 1546 n.st.

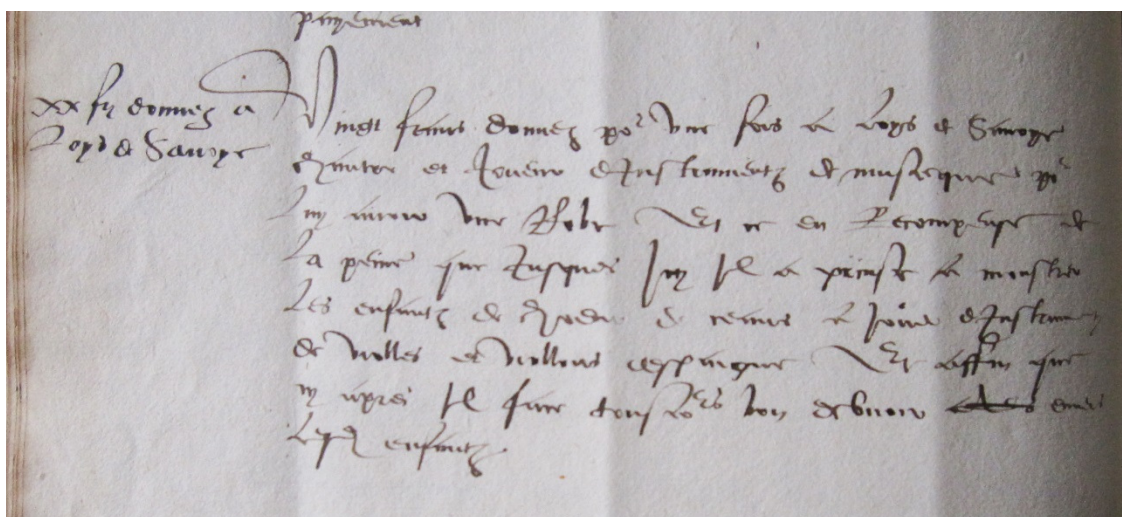
‘Item et aussi a cy pause en pleine audience dudit conseil ledit monsieur le premier consul que suyvant la commission donnee par le present conseil a luy et a ses compaignons de trouver lousis au faiseur de violles ilz auroyent loue la maison de ysabeau descallis pour six moys commensans des le quinziesme jour de novembre dernier passé pour prix du quinze florins desquelz requiert estre faicte bulletee et payee sur quoy requeste estant advise et consulte’.

‘A pleu audict conseil raffirmer que de ladite somme soict faicte bulletree et payee des deniers communaux par le tresorier general de ladite ville’.

‘Item, also...audience with the council...following the commission gave by the present council to him and his companions to find lodgings at the viol maker’s, they rented the house of Isabeau Descalis for six months starting on the fifteenth of November past for

the price of fifteen florins, require this to be ____ and paid as was requested being advised and consulted’.

In addition the said council approves (reforms) the said sum was paid from the council coffers by the treasury general of the city’.



Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, G. 77

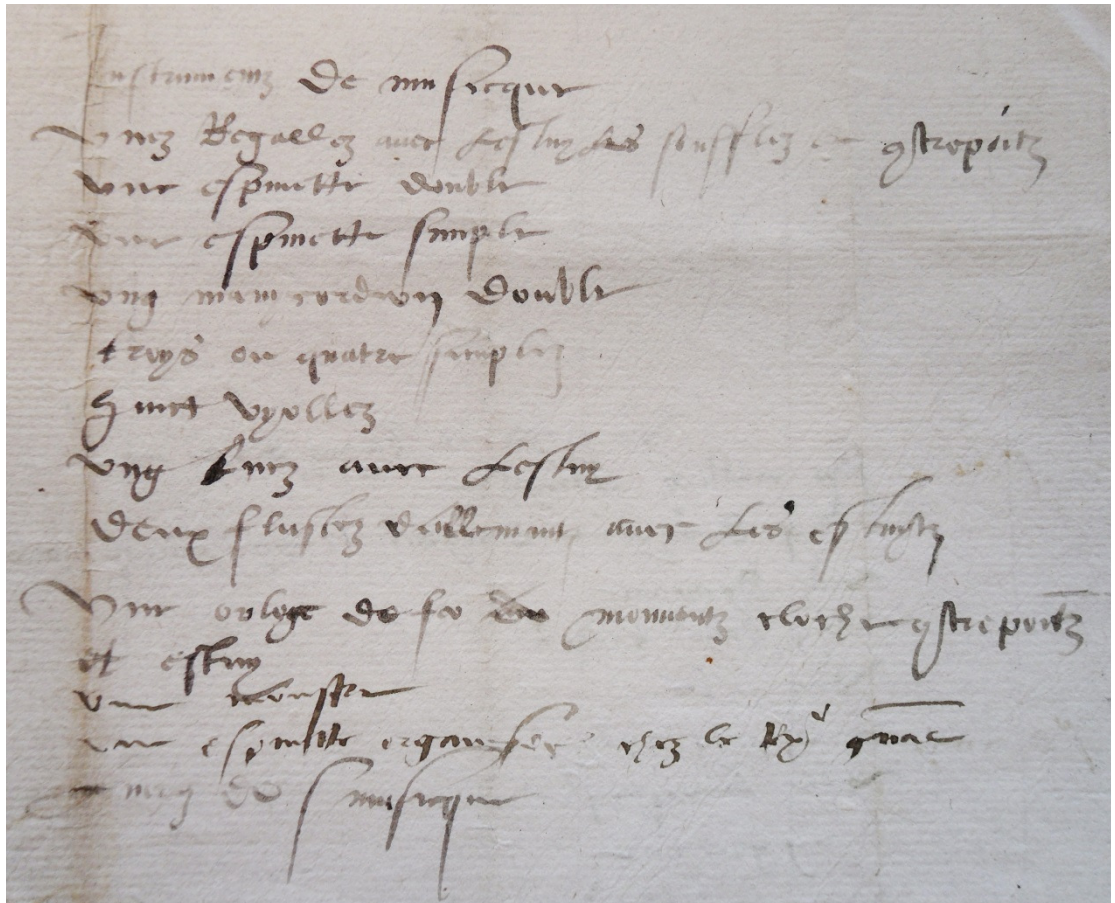
1548

‘Vingt francs donnez pour une fois a Loys de Savoye chantre et joueur d’instrumentz de musique pour luy avoir une robe et ce en recompense de la peine que jusques icy il a prinse de monstrer les enfans de choeur de ceans a joueur d’instrumentz de violles et violllons d’espaigne, et affin cy apres il face tousjours bon debvoir envers lesdicts enfans’.

‘Twenty francs given to Loys of Savoye singer and player of musical instruments so that he may buy a robe, and this in recompense for the pains he has taken to show the children of the choir how to play the viols and violins of Spain, and so that he will afterwards continue to give good service in relation to these children’.

I would like to thank Dr Cristina Diego-Pacheco for identifying and transcribing this archival record.

Appendix II. Inventaires après décès by date



Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G 2816

July 1557

Guillaume Monteny, organist, after the death of his wife

'Instruments de musique
unes regallez avec l'estuy
les soufflez et contrepointz
une espinette double
une espinette simple
un manycordion double

troys ou quatre simples

huit vyolles

ung lucz avec l'estuy

deux flustes d'allemand avec les estuytz

une orloge de fer mouvement cloche contrepoitz et estuy

une monstre

une espinette organise chez le Ry___ [quil] m___ de s musique.'

'Musical instruments

a regal with case, pipes and counterweights

a double manual spinet

a single manual spinet

a double manicordion

three or four single manuals

eight viols

a lute with case

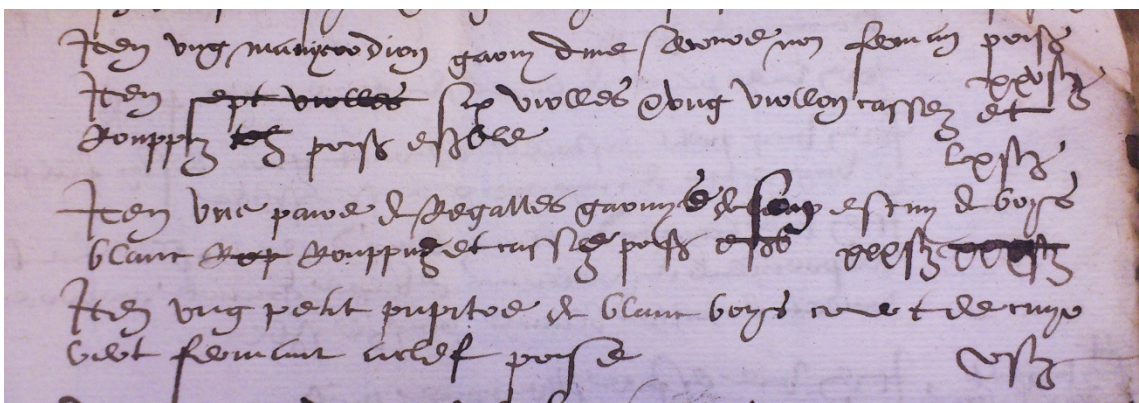
two German flutes with cases

an iron clock with counterweight movement

a watch

an organized spinet ___

___ of ___ music'.



Paris, Archives nationales, MC ET LIV 226/D

30 July 1557

Nicole Masseron, priest at Église de Paris, cure de Saint-Cyr-en-Val

'Item ung manicordion garny d'une s___ f___ prise xxv s.tz.

Item ~~sept violles~~ six violles et ung violon cassez et romppuz ~~tel~~ prise ensemble lx s t.

Item ung paire de Regalles garny de son estuy de boys blanc romppuz et casse prise xxx st.

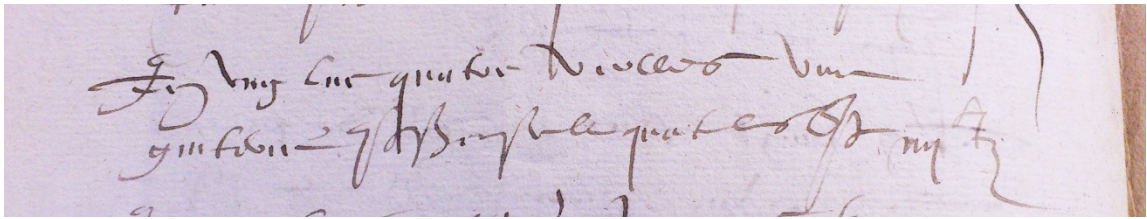
Item un petit pupitre de blanc boys couvre de cuyr ... prise v s tz'.

'Item a manicordion with a ___ ___ price xxv sols tournois.

Item ~~seven viols~~ six viols and a broken violin priced together lx sols tournois.

Item a pair of Regalls with its case of white wood, broken xxx sols tournois.

Item a small music stand of white wood covered with leather ... price v sols tournois'.



Paris, Archives nationales, MC ET LXXXVI 98

17 January 1558 n.st.

Nicole Cosse, wife of Jean Marlot, marchand mercier, bourgeois de Paris

‘Item ung luc quatre violles une guiterne prise ensemble quatre l tz iiii l tz’.

‘A lute four viols a gittern (or guitar) priced together four livres tournoiz iiii l tz’.

Appendix IV. Comparative Illustrations



Fig. 1

Lyre

Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique. Où il est traité des Consonances, des Dissonances, des Genres, des Modes, de la Composition, de la Voix, des Chants, & de toutes sortes d'Instrumens Harmoniques.

Paris: Pierre Ballard, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, 1636, 205.

1636



Fig. 2

Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino)

St Cecilia, detail

Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

c. 1514



Fig. 3, 3a

Stained glass window and detail of angel musicians

Collégiale Notre Dame-en-Vaux in Chalons-en-Champagne, Champagne-Ardenne
c. 1527



Fig. 4, 4a, 4b

Gonesse organ, details of angel musicians from painted wood casing

Église Saint-Pierre-Saint-Paul in Gonesse, near Paris, France
c. 1508

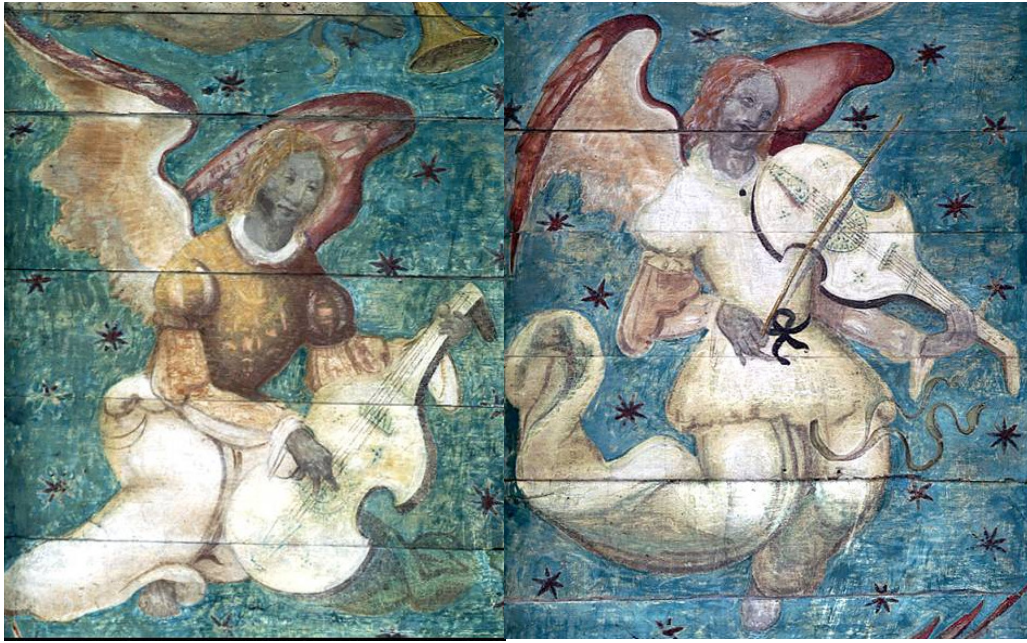


Fig. 5

Stained glass panel, angel
playing a viola da braccio

Écouen, Musée de la
Renaissance, Ec. 190
c. 1555



Fig. 6

Stained glass panel, angel playing a lute

Écouen, Musée de la Renaissance, Ec. 191

c. 1555



Fig. 7

Primaticcio, attributed to

*Vieille femme drapée, tenant une 'lira da braccio'
et un faisceau de verges*

Paris, Musée du Louvre, INV 1084 Recto

c. 1550s

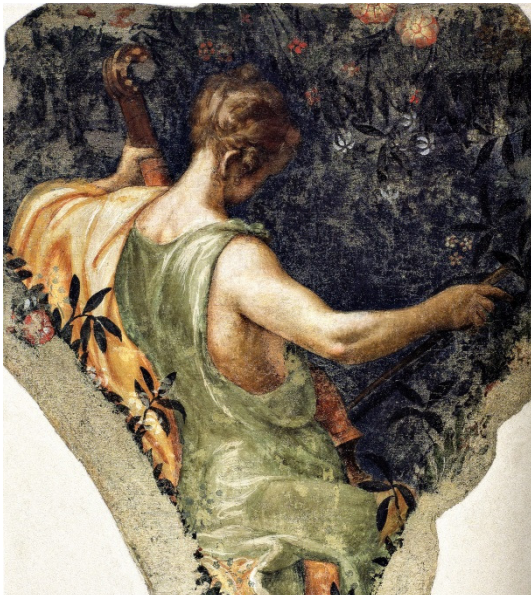


Fig. 8

Niccolo dell'Abate

Suonatrice di viola da gamba bassa

Fresco, transferred to canvas

Modena, Galleria Estense, inv. 2780

c. 1540-43



Fig. 9

Niccolo dell'Abate

Concerto

Fresco

Bologna, Palazzo Poggi, Sala dei Concerti

c. 1550-52

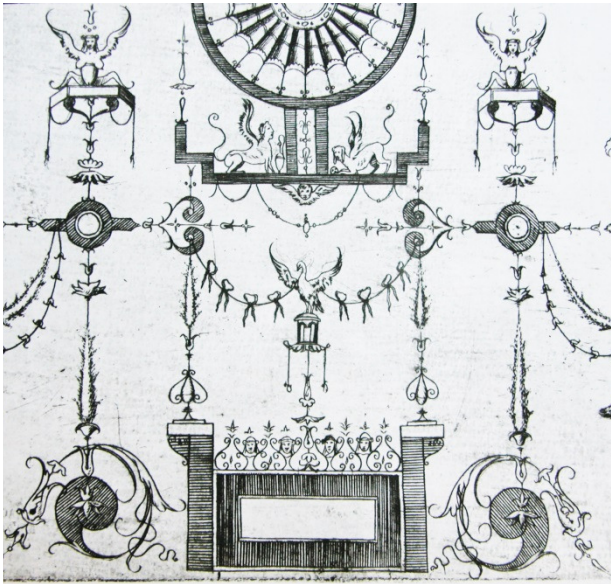


Fig. 10

Domenico del Barbieri

Detail of engraving based on wall paintings found at the Domus Aurea, a large villa in Rome built by Nero and found in the early sixteenth century, from an ornamental suite

Paris, BnF, Cabinet des Estampes

c. 1540s-1560s

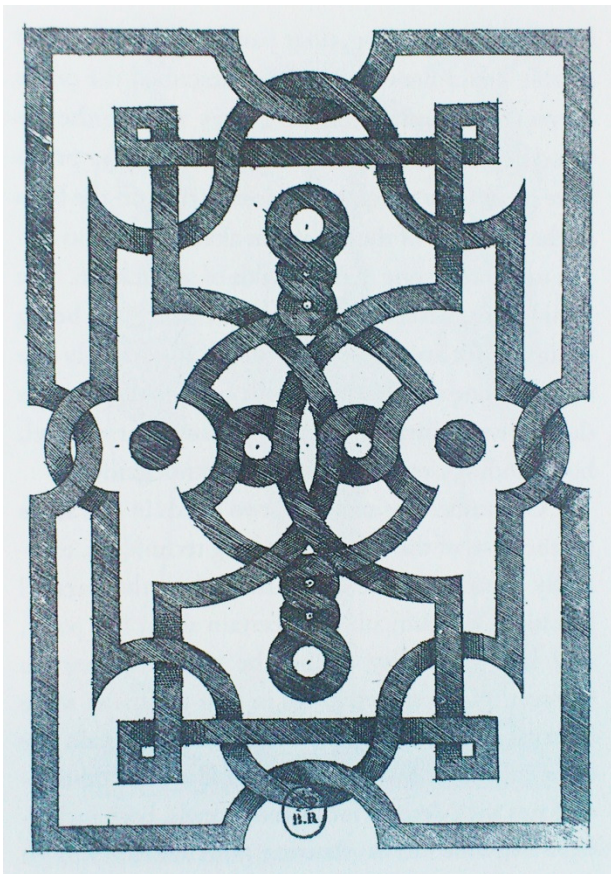


Fig. 11

Jacques Androuet du Cerceau

Intarsia panel, engraving

Paris, BnF, Ed 2d

c. 1550s-1560s



Fig. 12

Léonard Thiry, drawing (René Boyvin engraved)

Plate 4

In Livre des la conquête de la Toison d'or par le prince Jason de Thessalie

Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. No. 52197

H. 19.5 cm; W. 23.5 cm

1563



Fig. 13

Plate

Casteldurante, Italy

Écouen, Musée de la Renaissance, Acq.

1851, Cl. 1991

c. 1539



Fig. 14

Antoine Caron

The Water Festival at Bayonne, 24 June 1565

New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, 1955.7

H. 34.9 cm; W. 49.3 cm

c. 1565 or after



Fig. 15

'plan de Paris' bass viol

Attributed to Gaspar Duiffoprugcar

Brussels, Musée des Instruments de Musique,
accession number 1427

c. 1800-89



Fig. 16

Viol

Attributed to Gaspar Duiffoprugcar

The Hague, Gemeentemuseum

Date unknown



Fig. 17, 17a

Ligorio Pirro

Allegory of Music

Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 31662,
Recto

H. 50 cm; W. 67.4 cm

c. 1550– 1570



**The Introduction of the Viol into Sixteenth-Century France:
Perspectives on the Cultural Integration of Musical Instruments**

Emily Peppers

PhD

The University of Edinburgh

2014

Volume II

Appendix IV. Select Catalogue of Images

Symphonia Plato

nis cum Aristotele: & Galeni cū Hippocrate D. Symphor
riani Chaperij. Hippocratica philosophia eiusdem.
Platonica medicina de duplici mundo: cum eiusdē scholiis.
Speculum medicinale platicum: & apologia literarū hu
maniorum.



Quæ omnia venundantur ab Iodoco Badio.

Cat. 1

Musicians, title page

Symphorien Champier, *Symphonia Platonis cum Aristotele, & Galeni & Hippocrate: Hippocratica philosophia ejusdem, Platoni medicina de duplici mundo, cum ejusdem scholiis: speculum medicinale Platicum & apologia litteratum humaniorum*. Paris, 1516.

Woodcut in a printed book

BnF, Res-T21-2

1516

In this woodcut of 1516, Plato, Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates play a set of four bowed string instruments, perhaps in a visual representation of the interplay

between their respective disciplines. The four instruments include a violin-like treble instrument played 'a braccio' (on the arm), and the remaining three are played in a downwards position, like the viol. These appear to be in a range of alto and tenor sizes, the largest still remaining relatively small compared to later large bass instruments.

A central round soundhole is visible on two of the instruments, as are three to four strings. All of the instruments share a similar elongated body shape, shallow ribs, pointed corners and a hook-shape pegbox. The instruments are played with long bows in a mixture of overhand and underhand bow holds.

This image of a consort of instruments is currently the earliest known example of members of the viol or violin family depicted in a downward playing position from Renaissance France; whether or not this image depicts a viol is open to conjecture. It has been included in the catalogue for its early date of creation and the presence of bowed stringed instruments played in a downward position. It can be asserted that the consort is made up of medium-sized members of the violin family, due to their small sizes and numbers of strings, but in this early period of viol and violin development,

viol and violin dissemination within French culture, hybrids and inaccuracies are bound to be more common in French visual media than informed accurate depictions of these new bowed string instruments. Indeed, it would be over a decade before the viol (as can be understood from existing visual media) began to be depicted in French visual media. Viol or violin, what is important to note in this image is the choice of the artist to link such important figures of Classical Antiquity with bowed stringed instruments, continuing a connection maintained over a millennia to the elevated status of stringed instruments within society, a continued use of stringed instruments in visual media to represent *harmonia mundi*, music of the spheres, as well as the most sublime music suitable for kings and gods alike. This theme will be addressed repeatedly, from different aspects, throughout the course of this catalogue.

Agnes Kory, 'A Wider Role for the Tenor Violin?', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 47 (Mar. 1994), 123-24.



Cat. 2

Jean de Gourmont (1483 – after 1551)

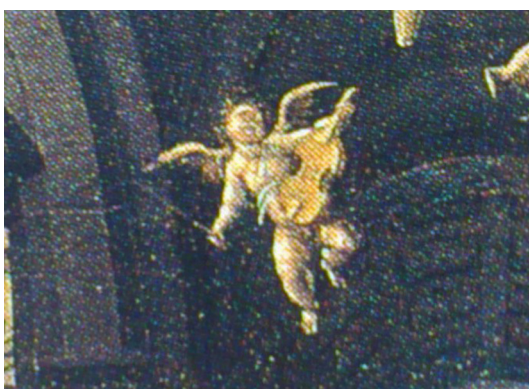
L'Adoration des bergers

Oil on wood panel

Paris, Musée du Louvre, INV. 4988

H. 94 cm; W. 116 cm

c. 1525



This painting, currently the earliest image identified of a viol in France, is believed to have been created by Jean de Gourmont during his stay in Lyon between 1522 and 1526. In the painting, angel musicians are depicted actively moving through the vast architectural background, hovering above a scene of the adoration of the baby Jesus by

shepherds. Several instruments are depicted, including a hurdy-gurdy, viol, sackbut, portative organ and a bagpipe. The viol has thin ribs, a shallow waist and overly pointed corners on the top bouts. A small tapering tailpiece can be seen as well as a fingerboard that overlaps a small portion of the upper bouts. Narrow soundholes can be seen at the waist, and no definite pegbox can be discerned. A long flat bow can be seen in the angel's right hand, held in an overhand bow hold.

Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, translated by Deke Dusinberre, Scott Wison and Rachel Zerner (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 328-29.



Cat. 3

Stained glass window

Cathédrale Saint-Étienne, north transept
Sens, Burgundy

After c. 1527

The appearance of a viol in the Sens north transept window continues the first identifiable theme of how viols were depicted in French visual media during the second quarter of the sixteenth century – in the hands of angel musicians – an exclusivity that would continue for approximately twenty years. Placed below Christ at the centre of the mirrored celestial orchestra, the angel musician plays a large rectangular-shaped viol, with three strings and a central rose soundhole, geometrically depicted in the style of contemporary lutes.



This large-scale work, a donation of Gabriel Gouffier in 1527, was most likely the inspiration for nearby stained glass rose windows in the Église Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Villiers-sur-Tholon (1530, see Cat. 5) and at the Cathédrale d'Auxerre (1550 and 1573).

Comité français du Corpus vitrearum, and Inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), 183.



Cat. 4

Stained glass window, bay 21

Église Notre Dame

Louviers, Normandy

c. 1530¹

The stained glass window depicts the story of Theophilus, a well-known Medieval legend in which a cleric in the sixth century made a deal with the Devil to gain an ecclesiastical position. The window has been attributed to Nicolas Le Prince, from a family of glass painters dominant in Normandy during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and can be considered an early work from his career.



The viol, above the scene of Theophilus, has been realistically rendered, and the graceful playing position of both hands looks as if the glass painter or cartoon artist was either familiar with the viol, had copied an accurate engraving or had observed a musician playing the viol for

the commission. The cartoons appear to have been reused when stained glass panels of angel musicians at the Église Saint-Nicolas in Provins, Burgundy (now at the Musée de la Renaissance in Écouen, see Cat. 25) were created in the mid 1550s.

1. Martine Callias Bey, Véronique Chaussé, Françoise Gatouillat and Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Haute-Normandie*, vol. VI (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001), 181.



Cat. 5

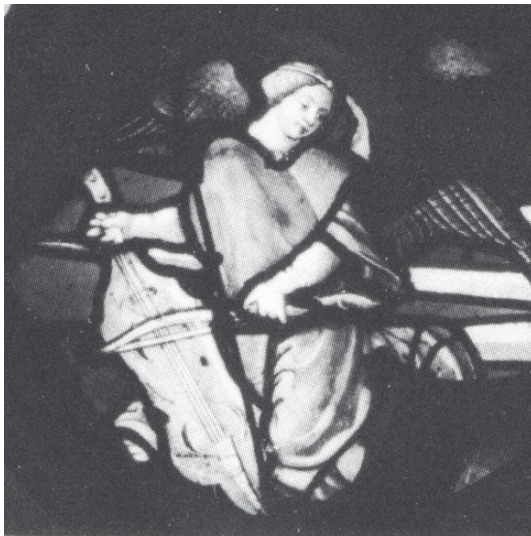
Stained glass window

Église Saint-Jean-Baptiste

Villiers-sur-Tholon, Burgundy

c. 1530

In this smaller-scale rose window created on the theme of Christ surrounded by angel musicians, the viols are depicted as a mirrored pair. Unlike the viol illustrated in Louviers from the same year, these viols were created by an artist that was most likely rather unfamiliar with the practical aspects of a bowed string instrument. The bridge has been placed near to the neck, creating an unplayable instrument, and the angels' hands clumsily grip the neck and bow.



Influenced by the dramatic depiction of celestial harmony in the nearby the Sens cathedral rose window, the artists working on this commission may have given the viol a central position due to its new and noble status within French culture.



Comité français du Corpus vitrearum, and Inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), 200.



Cat. 6

Stained glass window, bay 100
Église Saint-Jean-au-Marché
Troyes, Champagne-Ardenne
c. 1534-35¹

In this stained glass window, the angel viol player is placed above and to the left of a crucifixion scene, a rare placement within identified windows that feature viols in the hands of angel musicians. The viol depicted is very large in size, reminiscent of the viol illustrated in the Sens cathedral rose window, and the angel is visibly behind the instrument. The viol depicted in the Église Saint-Jean-au-Marché window, however is of a completely different shape and style, and features an enlarged oval shape, a small waist with pointed corners and large f-shaped soundholes set low on the bottom bouts.



1. Martine Callias Bey, Véronique Chaussé, Françoise Gatouillat and Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Haute-Normandie*, vol. VI (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001), 118, 122-23.



Cat. 7

Sculpture, angel musicians
Église Saint-Michel, western facade
portal arch
Dijon, Burgundy
c. 1537



Set among a group of angel musicians in the Église Saint-Michel's portal arch two mirrored viols can be seen in the lower row. Catherine Chédeau dates the angel musician sculptures to a second workshop period of c. 1537.

The left mirrored viol-playing angel has sustained more damage to the body of the instrument than the right. The viols are carved in a thin festooned shape, with oval bottom bouts and more decorative upper bouts with multiple corners. Three strings attach to a lute or guitar style straight tailpiece affixed to the body. A simple straight bridge is

present, as are outward-facing c-shaped soundholes on the upper bouts. It appears a very simple square pegbox has been depicted, but the right mirrored angel has sustained some damage to this area, and the top section of the pegbox is missing. The bow has been carved as though played by the angel in a diagonal downward position.

Catherine Chédeau, *Les arts à Dijon au XVIe siècle: les débuts de la Renaissance 1494-1551* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1999), 146-47.



Cat. 8

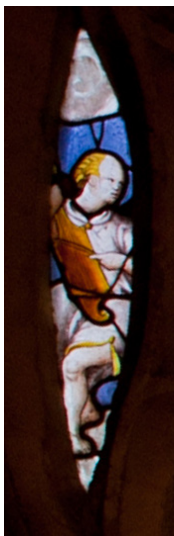
Stained glass window, bay 1

Église Saint-Nicolas

La Ferté-Milon, Picardy

c. 1542¹

The stained glass window at La Ferté-Milon in Picardy features scenes from the life of Christ, and above this depiction two mirrored angel musicians can be seen. The pair of angels play bowed string instruments held in a downward playing position, but these are the most rough and unrealistic instruments identified within the catalogue. The ‘viol’ to the left has no features on its body whatsoever, leaving the right-side panel for evaluation.



The viol is square in shape, with an extended tapering lower bout similar to the viols depicted at the Église Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Villiers-sur-Tholon, Burgundy (Cat. 5). A purfling-style outline follows the edge of the body, four strings are visible, connected to a lute-style bridge. A small bow is present, and the neck and pegbox cannot be seen well enough in the panel to comment.

1. Louis Grodecki, Françoise Perrot and Jean Taralon, *Les vitraux de Paris de la région Parisienne de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais*, vol. I (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1978), 161.



Cat. 9

Master L. D.

Les Apôtres contemplant le Christ et la Vierge dans des glories d'anges

Engraving

Paris, BnF, Cabinet des Estampes

H. 39.6 cm; W. 53.3 cm

c. 1546



This engraving, by the Master L. D. (possibly Leon Daven), is part of a set of four, in which the Apostles are looking upwards to Christ and the Virgin Mary surrounded by a 'glory' of angels. The date 1546 is included on one of the other prints of the set. Surrounding the Virgin Mary is a celestial ensemble of angels, playing a bass shawm, singing from a music book, playing the viol, lute and triangle. The viol is large in size, but it is

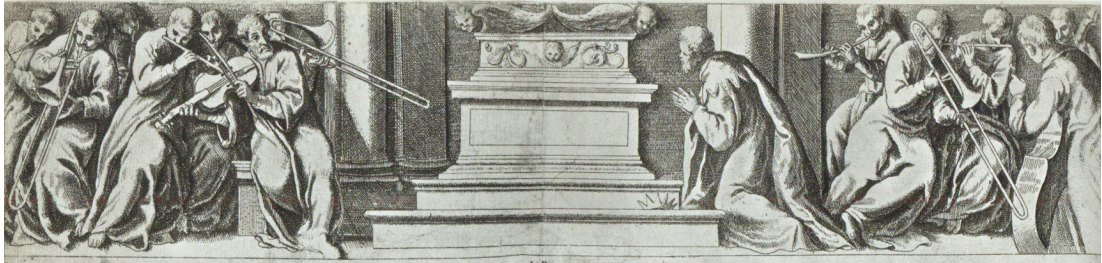
mainly obscured by a wing of an angel attending to Mary.

Of what can be seen, it has a large long fretted neck, a scrolled pegbox, at least five strings, lower bouts that are wider than the upper bouts, a large waist with somewhat pointed corners, medium-to-deep ribs, inward-facing c-shaped soundholes on the lower bouts, a decorative spiral on the body near the small tailpiece and end button. The viol is depicted being played underhand with a long bow, and the playing position has been reversed (i.e. bowed with the left hand), most likely due to the direct copy from a drawing.

The positioning of the angel and the viol, placed at a diagonal angle across the angel's body extending to the right, the viol's large size and its overall physical style is very reminiscent of René Boyvin's engraving *Muse* (Cat. 23) after a drawing by Luca Penni. Many of the engraved works by L. D. have been identified as after drawings by Penni, and possibly both engravings may have been based on the same

or a similar work by Penni, altered as required by each engraver.

Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), 21-25.



Cat. 10

Master L. D. (after unknown artist)

Un roi agnouillé devant un autel

Engraving

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Whittelsey Fund 1949

H. 11 cm; W. 51.4 cm

c. 1540s – 1550s

In this peculiarly-sized engraving, musicians can be seen around a central altar, at which a king is depicted kneeling. The active, somewhat frantic arrangement of the musicians is in keeping with the visual style soon to be established within the School of Fontainebleau. Sackbuts, transverse flutes and cornets can be seen, as well as a violin and a large viol, violone or contrabass violin. Little can be seen of the bass stringed instrument, only deep ribs, pointed corners, frets on the neck and the bottom section of what appears to be a scrolled pegbox. It appears the artist made the engraving directly from the original drawing, as the playing positions of the musicians have been reversed.

Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), 21-25.



Cat. 11

Jean Mignon

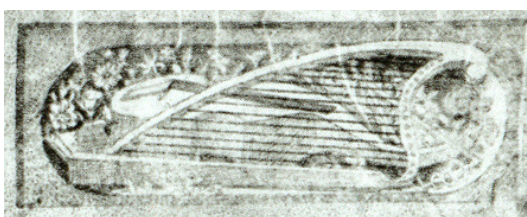
Le Jugement Dernier

Engraving

London, British Museum, W, 3.186

H. 44.4 cm; W. 62.2 cm

c. 1545-1555



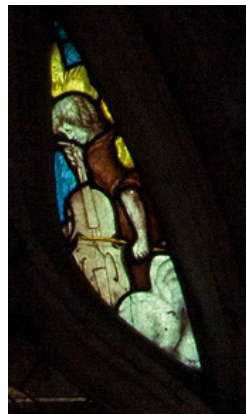
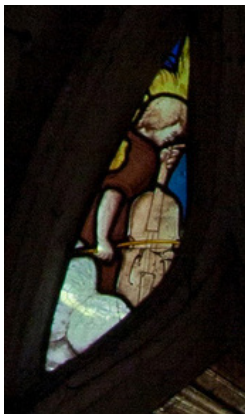
Jean Mignon was a French painter and engraver who is recorded to have worked at the Château de Fontainebleau as a decorative painter between c. 1538 and 1544. The large majority of his engravings were after Luca Penni,

but he is also known to have made engravings after works by Andrea del Sarto and Primaticcio.

In the decorative border above the Last Judgement scene, two sections can be seen with musical instruments, displayed in a realistic manner that perhaps imitates the trompe l'oeil frescos of the Italian 'studiolo' style. On the left, a lute, transverse flute and music part books have been arranged among foliage. On the right, a harp, viol and triangle can be seen. The depiction of the lute and viol has been expertly and intriguingly rendered, such that the viol is seen through the strings of the harp. The viol itself has deep ribs, an anomaly within the School of Fontainebleau, but its likeness with a real instrument stops here. The fingerboard appears to come all the way down to the bridge, and at the top of the body, where it would normally extend onto the neck, disappears altogether. The neck slopes drastically down in a manner that would render the instrument unplayable in a practical sense. Only a rectangular tailpiece and a deep waist can otherwise be seen.

Félix Herbet, *Les graveurs de l'école de Fontainebleau, les eaux-fortes nommées ou marquées*, vol. IV (Paris, 1901), 41–50.

Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), 26-30.



Cat. 12

Stained glass window, bay 7

Église Saint-Nicolas

Beaumont-le-Roger, Normandy

c. 1550¹

These mirrored angel viol players, depicted in the top section of a stained glass window of the Église Saint-Nicolas of Beaumont-le-Roger in Normandy, are based on the same cartoons as angel viol players in the nearby Église Notre-Dame de la Couture in Bernay (Cat. 14). Completed either simultaneously or only a few years before the Bernay window, the stained glass window at Beaumont-le-Roger uses only the viol cartoons from what seems to have been a larger set of angel musician cartoons to fill the extreme outer stained glass panels of the window. This suggests the model, including the angel-musician cartoons, were stock material within the commissioned glass-painting workshop, and the viol-playing angel cartoons were chosen from pre-existing cartoons to fit within the required space in the Beaumont-le-Roger window. The window was given as a donation by

Guillaume Lauzère in 1550.

The viols are played by angels depicted from the side. They are large in size with oval shaped bodies, small waists with pointed corners, what appears to be three strings, large inward-facing c-shaped soundholes, a tapering tailpiece and a long

separate fingerboard. In order to bow at the waist of the large instruments, the angels are depicted with long straight bow arms.

1. Martine Callias Bey, Véronique Chaussé, Françoise Gatouillat and Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Haute-Normandie*, vol. VI (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001), 108.



Cat. 13

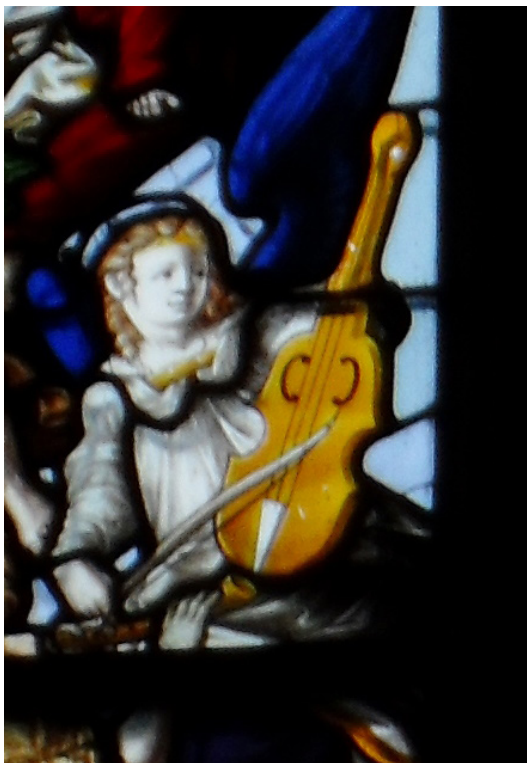
Stained glass window, bay 100

Abbé Notre-Dame-du-Pré

Valmont, Normandy

c. 1550¹

This stained glass window, placed centrally behind the altar of the Abbé Notre-Dame-du-Pré, is the only identified stained glass window in which the viol has been placed within the central scene, in this case a glorification of the Virgin. The depicted viol is a smaller alto or tenor size, with an oval body, a shallow waist with pointed corners, inward-facing c-shaped soundholes, a triangular tapering tailpiece and a long thin neck.

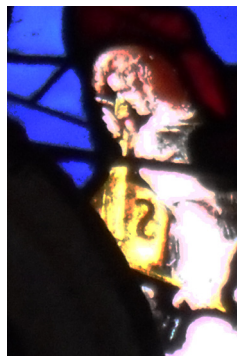
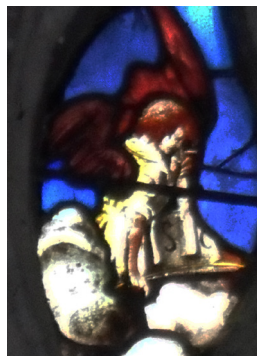


1. Martine Callias Bey, Véronique Chaussé, Françoise Gatouillat and Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Haute-Normandie*, vol. VI (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001), 431.



Cat. 14

Stained glass window, bay 3
Église Notre-Dame de la Couture
Bernay, Normandy
c. 1550-55¹

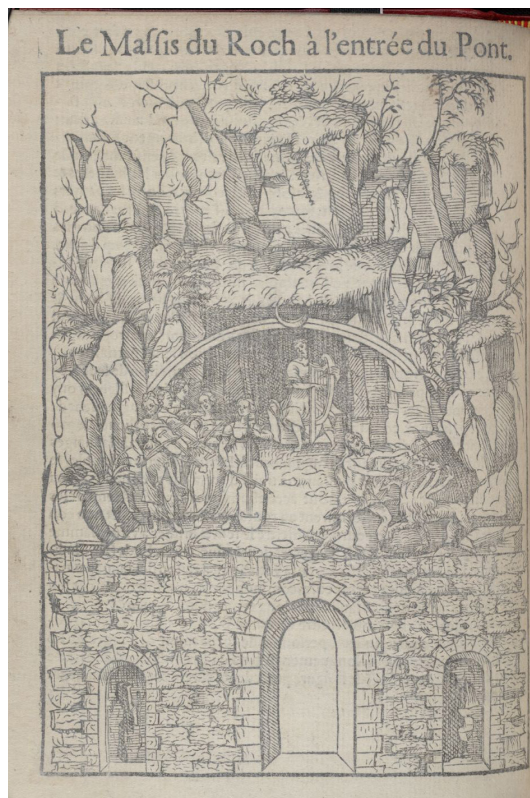


Using the same cartoons as the Église Saint-Nicolas in Beaumont-le-Roger (see Cat. 12), the mirrored viol-playing angel musicians of this window are depicted alongside paired angels playing rebecs, revealing perhaps more of the workshop's stock cartoons from a larger model. The viols in this window, however, are partially hidden by clouds, their physical attributes also rendered in

a separate style by an undoubtedly different glass painter than at Beaumont-le-Roger.

The glass painter at Bernay used shadow to a greater degree than at Beaumont-le-Roger, giving the viols a realistic and three-dimensional effect. The large inward-facing c-shaped soundholes of Beaumont-le-Roger have here been replaced by elongated f-shaped soundholes, placed on the visible upper bouts. The artists working on these windows may have been from the same workshop, but expressed their own cultivated personal style. Alternatively, they may also have been from different workshops, working from the same stock materials supplied by large 'cartonniers' in Paris. Either way, these stained glass windows, executed at essentially the same time and less than 20 km apart, are physical proof that individual glass painters had a large amount of control over the decorative and physical details of the finished panels they painted.

1. Martine Callias Bey, Véronique Chaussé, Françoise Gatouillat and Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Haute-Normandie*, vol. VI (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001), 110.



Cat. 15

Le Massis du Roch à l'entrée du Pont

Robert le Hoy, *C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dresses, et exhibes par les citoiens de Rouen ville Metropolitaine de Normandie...* Rouen: Jean Le Prest, 1551, fol. K4v.

Engraving within a printed book

London, BL, 811 .d26

1551

This engraving, part of the printed triumphal entry book commemorating the entry of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Rouen in 1550 reflects the popularity of the allegory of Apollo and the Muses within the first School of Fontainebleau. Here, however, Orpheus with his harp can be seen amongst the Muses instead of his father, Apollo.

The replacement of Apollo with his son Orpheus drew a familial connection between these gods, mythological father and son, and consequently between



François I and his son Henri II. The choice to associate Henri II with Orpheus gave the new king a mythological connection to music, arts and learning. His placement among the Muses further tightened the reference to Apollo and his allegorical personification of François I's power, political prowess and artistic patronage.

L'entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550: A Facsimile with an Introduction by Margaret McGowan (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1970).



Cat. 16

Pierre Bontemps (1505-68)

Funeral Urn of François I

White marble

Paris, Basilique Saint-Denis

c. 1550-56

The funeral urn of François I was made by Pierre Bontemps for the Tomb of François I, and both are now located in the Basilique Saint-Denis in Paris. Bontemps was the obvious choice, having been subcontracted in the previous year by Delorme to work on the sculptural aspects of the Tomb of François I. Having worked at Fontainebleau as an assistant to Primaticcio in c. 1536-40, Bontemps also was familiar with the Italianate style and visual language prescribed in the urn's work contract dated January 19, 1550.



The four oval medallions that grace the sides of the urn's plinth are dedicated to Astronomy, Song, Lyric Poetry and Instrumental Music, and an inscription above each one praises François I as a patron of the arts. Above,

the medallions on the urn itself depict the Arts, including Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Geometry. Within the scene depicting 'Instrumental Music', a tenor-size viol can be seen alongside a small portative organ and a lute. It is of the most basic early Italianate shape found in French visual media, with an elongated oval shape, shallow ribs, a tapering triangular tailpiece, four strings and a scrolled pegbox. The bow is very small and played overhand.

Primatice, maître de Fontainebleau (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 398-401.



Cat. 17

Francesco Primaticcio (attributed)

Le Parnasse

Pen and ink drawing heightened with white

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1900, 0611.4

H. 31.8 cm; W. 41.6 cm

c. 1552

This preparatory drawing for the Salle de Bal fresco, attributed to Primaticcio, maintains the School's strong visual tie to the allegory of Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus. At the centre of the clustered scene is Apollo, framed closely by the Muses and a Pegasus behind him. He holds a small viol in a dramatic pose, suggesting both the act of playing and leading his Muses in celestial music-making.

The viol is identical to the fresco painting (see below, Cat. 18), but physical details of the front of the instrument are missing, including the tailpiece, bridge, soundhole, strings and pegs. A second viol at the bottom left of the drawing is played by a Muse that faces away from the viewer, in a style that may have been influenced by dell'Abate's frescos in Italy (fig. 8 and 9). She plays a small viol, and only a curve

from the lower bout, a bit of the bow and a backwards scrolled pegbox are visible.

The instrument's body shape and lion-head pegbox can also be seen in another drawing attributed to Primaticcio, *Vieille femme drapée, tenant une 'lira da braccio' et un faisceau de verges* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, INV 1084 Recto, fig. 7).

Luisa Capodiecì, 'Le roi, la lune et l'amour dans la salle de bal à Fontainebleau', *¿Renaissance en France, renaissance française?* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 2009), 296-301.



Cat. 18

Niccolo dell'Abate, after a drawing by Primaticcio

Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus

Fresco

Fontainebleau, Château de Fontainebleau, Salle de Bal

c. 1552-56

The fresco of Apollo and the Muses in a spandrel of the Salle de Bal at Fontainebleau closely follows Primaticcio's preparatory drawing. In this the finished work,

however, the viol played by Apollo has now been depicted possessing all of its physical features, lacking in the preparatory drawing. The shape of the small instrument has remained the same, with an overall rectangular shape, tapering shoulders to a thick fretted neck and narrow ribs. Purfling can now be seen around the front plate, and it curves into a spiral at the four corners. A central rosette soundhole is now present, as is a short wide decorative tapering tailpiece and bridge. The bridge has been depicted with a shadow, alluding to its curved and two-footed shape. The lion's head pegbox remains, and approximately three pegs can be seen on one side, corresponding to the six visible strings. The arched bow is played underhand. The second viol played by a Muse facing away from the viewer also follows Primaticcio's drawing closely.

Primatice, maître de Fontainebleau (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 296-301.



Cat. 19

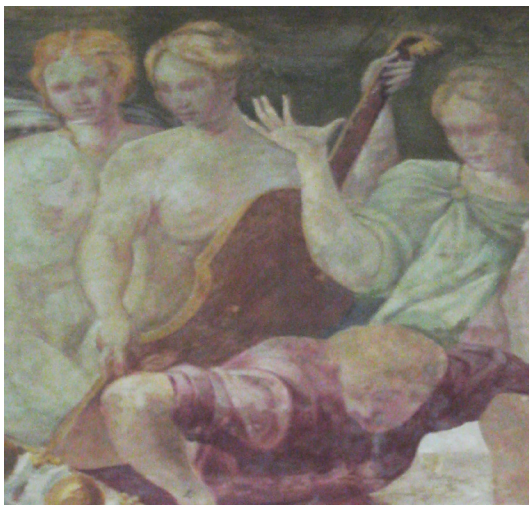
Niccolo dell'Abate, after a drawing by Primaticcio

Éris aux noces de Thétis et Pélée

Fresco

Fontainebleau, Château de Fontainebleau, Salle de Bal

c. 1552-56



On a nearby spandrel in the Salle de Bal an emotionally charged scene around a table can be observed. Eris, goddess of discord, can be seen at the centre of the wedding party of Thetis and Peleus, throwing a golden apple onto the table. This apple, intended for the fairest, would start a dispute between Hera, Aphrodite and Athena that would be

resolved by the judgement of Paris, and ultimately result in the Trojan War.

To the left of the table a Muse sits closely arranged among other Muses. She holds a tenor-size viol and, although she has a bow, is not playing, further alluding to the sudden discord brought about by Eris. Not all of the details of the instrument can be discerned, but the viol is similar to those of *Le Concert*, (Cat. 20) and is typical of those illustrated by the Italian Fontainebleau masters. The oval-shaped body has shallow ribs, a wide shallow waist with somewhat pointed corners and a human head as a pegbox.

Primatice, maître de Fontainebleau (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 299.



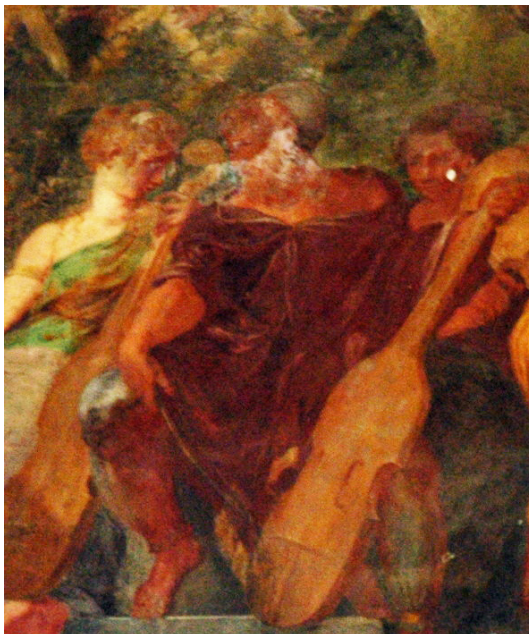
Cat. 20

Niccolo dell'Abate, after a drawing by
Primaticcio

Le Concert

Fresco

Fontainebleau, Château de
Fontainebleau, Salle de Bal
c. 1552-56



In the Salle de Bal a large two-part fresco can be seen above the musician's gallery, depicting scenes of music-making. Central to the left image, a man and a woman hold two viols typical in shape of the Italian Fontainebleau masters. Both viols are depicted with a large oval shape, impossibly shallow ribs, a scrolled pegbox and outward-facing c-shaped soundholes that imitate the shape of the waist. Locked in an intense gaze, the viol players are

accompanied by a lute-type instrument and wind instruments.

Primatice, maître de Fontainebleau (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 311-14.



Cat. 21

Niccolo dell'Abate

Apollon et les Muses sur un char

Pen and ink drawing, black chalk, brown wash, heightened with white, on beige paper

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, INV 5854, Recto

H. 26.2 cm; W. 29.1 cm

c. 1550s

Originally attributed to Primaticcio, this drawing by dell'Abate depicts Apollo playing a harp surrounded by his Muses. Two viols can be seen, and are typical of the Italianate style depicted by artists of the School of Fontainebleau, with oval bodies, shallow ribs and long necks. This is one of very few images from the first School of Fontainebleau in which Apollo is not depicted playing a viol, and may point to a creation date early within dell'Abate's residence in France starting in c. 1552.

Sylvie Béguin suggests in the exhibition catalogue of the 1969 exhibition of Niccolo dell'Abate that this drawing may relate to the triumphal entry of Charles IX into Paris in March 1571, and it is a compelling explanation for how stationary instruments such as the viol could have travelled with the procession through the town as a *tableau vivant*.¹

1. Sylvie Béguin, *Mostra di Nicolo dell'Abate: Catalogo critico a cura di Sylvie M. Béguin. Bologna, Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, 1 settembre - 20 ottobre 1969. Bologna, 1969, No. 65.*



Cat. 22

Niccolo dell'Abate

Apollon et les Muses donnant un concert

Pen and ink drawing, black chalk, brown wash, heightened with white

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, INV 5855, Recto
H. 26.8 cm; W. 27 cm

c. 1550s



In this drawing, the Muses are portrayed in a relaxed arrangement peacefully making music with Apollo, who sits on a rock at the centre of the scene. Like the drawings of Apollo and the Muses by Primaticcio (Cat. 17), the stance, arm and leg positioning of dell'Abate's Apollo creates the feeling of active movement for the viewer. Apollo's crossed legs, a detail that is unique among all identified images, not only concentrates and directs the gaze to the

centre of the juxtaposition of limbs and to the viol, but it is a nod to a practical aspect of playing bowed string instruments in the downwards ‘gamba’ position. In order to maintain a comfortable playing position, viol players must hold the viol between his/her knees, using some inward pressure to keep it in place. Adapted positions are sometimes used by players, especially when playing smaller instruments, and crossed legs is sometimes used to maintain a comfortable and practical playing position. The choice of dell’Abate to depict Apollo with crossed legs instead of the established (somewhat impractical) strong, confident open legs could point to the use of a real person with a viol as a model at some point in the creative process.

The viol itself is almost identical to those painted by dell’Abate in the Salle de Bal fresco of *Le Concert* (Cat. 20), with an elongated oval-shaped body, outward-facing c-shaped soundholes that follow the shape of the waist, a long neck with separate fingerboard and a large single scroll pegbox.

Sylvie Béguin and Francesca Piccinini, eds. *Nicolò dell’Abate, storie dipinte nella pittura del cinquecento tra Modena e Fontainebleau, a cura di Sylvie Béguin e Francesca Piccinini* (Modena: Museo Civico d’Arte, 2005).



Cat. 23, above

Workshop of René Boyvin, after Luca Penni

Muse

Engraving

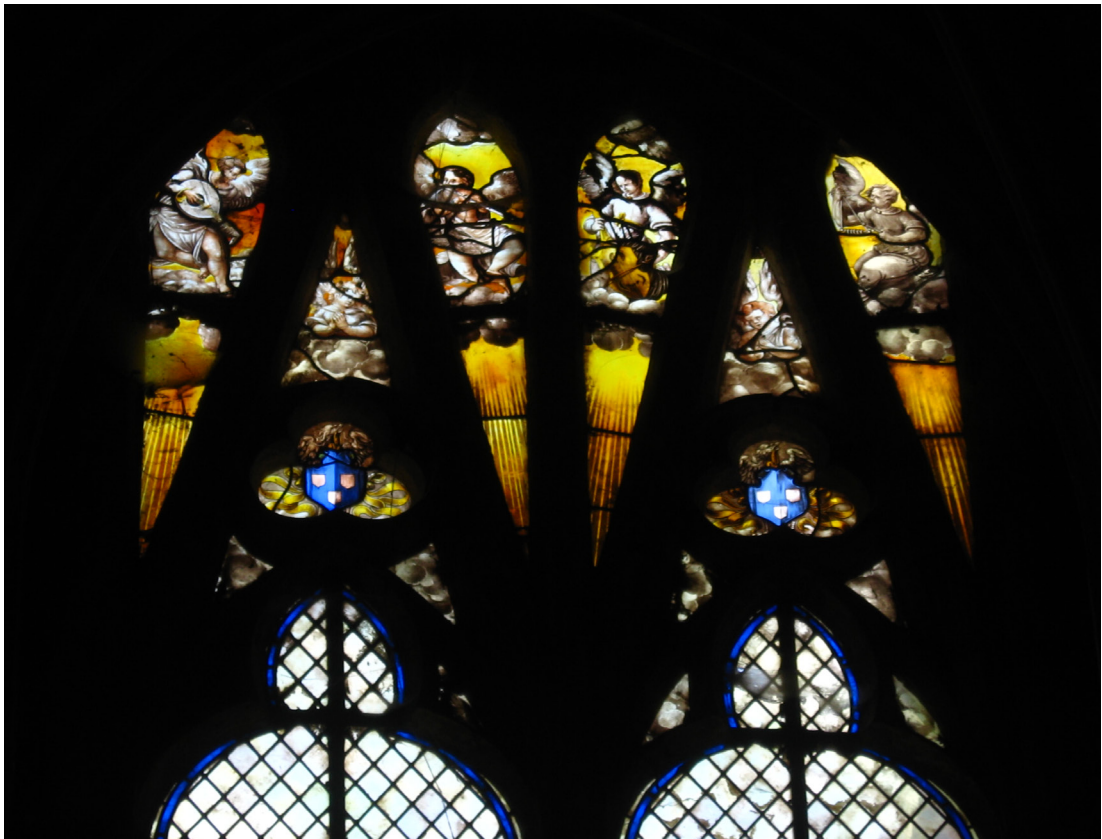
Paris, BnF, Ed. 3, vol. 1. Fonds Albert Pomme de Mirimonde. Collection de documents iconographiques. Boîte 4, Sujets antiques. Apollon, les Muses, le Parnasse.

c. 1550s

Luca Penni, an Italian artist of the Florentine School, worked as part of the School of Fontainebleau from c. 1530, and was based in Paris from the c. 1550s. He created drawings that were transferred into engravings by members of the first and second Schools of Fontainebleau, including Jean Mignon and René Boyvin. Boyvin's engraving of Penni's drawing *Muse* is similar in subject matter to another engraving of a Muse playing a lute (*Muse au luth*, Paris: BnF), also after a drawing by Penni.

Somewhat stylised in its decoration, Penni (and Boyvin) continued the Italianate tradition of the first School of Fontainebleau by depicting a large oval-shaped bass viol with shallow ribs. The viol has six well-defined strings, a long fretted neck, a flat bridge, a triangular tapering tailpiece and end button, four inward-facing c-shaped soundholes and a large bow played with an underhand bowhold. Two details are interesting to note in this composition: the ornate Greek lyre-shaped pegbox, and the oval shadowing on the body, communicating a curved front plate. The viol is reversed due to the engraving having been taken directly from the drawing.

Jacques Georges Philippe Marie Levron, *René Boyvin, graveur angevin du XVI^e siècle. Avec le catalogue de son oeuvre et la reproduction de 114 estampes* (Angers: Les lettres et la vie française, 1941).



Cat. 24

Stained glass window
Basilique Saint-Urbain
Troyes, Champagne-Ardenne
c. 1550s

Set in elongated teardrop-shaped stained glass window panels, a viol has been depicted alongside other angel musicians playing a lute, transverse flute and triangle. The panel on which the top section of the viol is illustrated seems to have sustained some damage, forcing a repair and possible restoration.

Regardless of this element of authenticity, the quality of physical features on the viol depicted at Saint-Urbain suggests that the artist (of the cartoons or the glass painter) observed an actual instrument at some point in the creative process. The squared

upper bouts of the viol tapering into a wide neck shares many similarities in body shape to the viols depicted in the stained glass window at the Collégiale Notre Dame-en-Vaux in Chalons-en-Champagne (1527, fig. 3, 3a) 85 km north of Troyes, as well as bowed string instruments depicted in the printed border decoration of Cat. 30, a 1559 Italian version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, printed in Lyon.

Corpus Vitrearum, *Les vitraux de Champagne-Ardenne. France: Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France*, vol. IV (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et de sites, 1992), 276-77.



Cat. 25

Stained glass panel

Probably from Provins, Île-de-France
Écouen, Musée de la Renaissance, Ec.
192

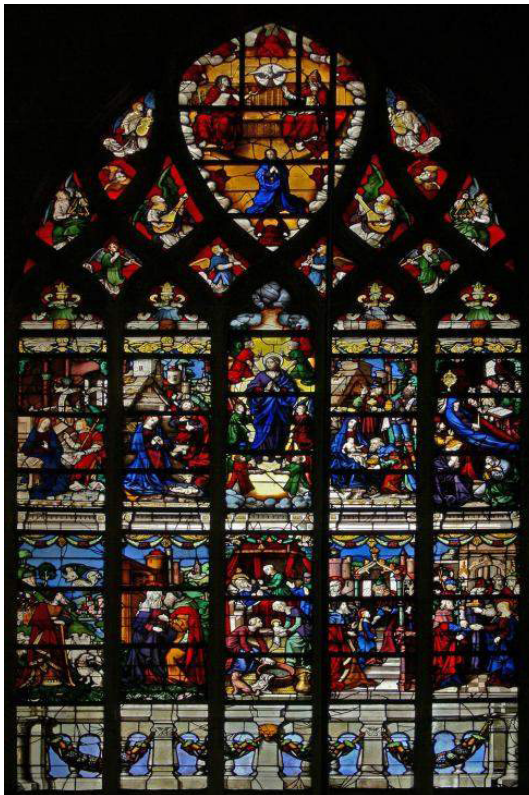
H. 44 cm; L. 59 cm

c. 1555

The Musée de la Renaissance at Écouen holds as part of its non-display collection a series of three stained glass panels, depicting angel musicians playing a viol, viola da braccio and a lute (see fig. 5 and 6). Information contained in the panel's documentation record proposes

that these windows may have been from the Église Sainte Croix in Provins, 45 km north of Sens. This attribution is due to the similar style and rendering of figures in stained glass panels surviving *in situ* in the church. Alongside panels depicting angels playing a lute and rebec, a solitary angel plays a tenor-size viol. The illustrated viol has an oval body shape, with larger upper bouts, a long fretted neck, four strings and a horse's head pegbox. The positioning of the angel is very similar to that at the Église Notre Dame in Louviers, Normandy (Cat. 4), and it is likely that the same cartoon or external source has been used for the two.

Museum documentation, Ec. 192, Centre for documentation, Musée de la Renaissance, Écouen.

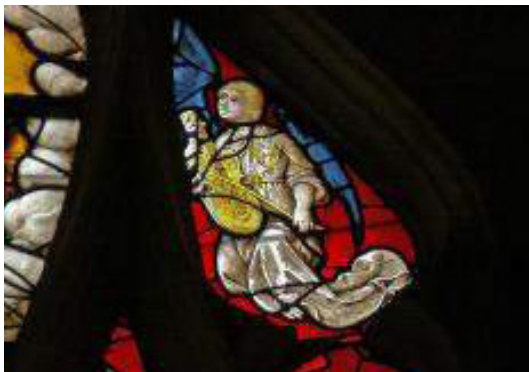


Cat. 26

Stained glass window, bay 105
Église Saint-Étienne-du-Mont
Paris

Mid sixteenth century, much restored
during the nineteenth century¹

At the top of a scene of the life of the Virgin, angel musicians are depicted in mirrored symmetry, and playing wind instruments, lutes, the triangle and at the very top near a representation of the Trinity, the viol. These viols are small in size, with pointed corners, a separate fingerboard and a long bow.



1. Louis Grodecki, Françoise Perrot and Jean Taralon, *Les vitraux de Paris de la région Parisienne de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais*, vol. I (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1978), 37-38. A date range of the beginning of the sixteenth century has been given in this reference,

but I disagree on the grounds that the style of instrument, the angel's clothing and positioning within the panel are more in keeping with the physical details of the large number of angel musicians depicted at the midpoint of the century. I suggest a date of at least the second quarter of the sixteenth century, if not nearer the midpoint of the century.

In his book, *La peinture à Paris sous le règne de François I^{er}*, Guy-Michel Leproux

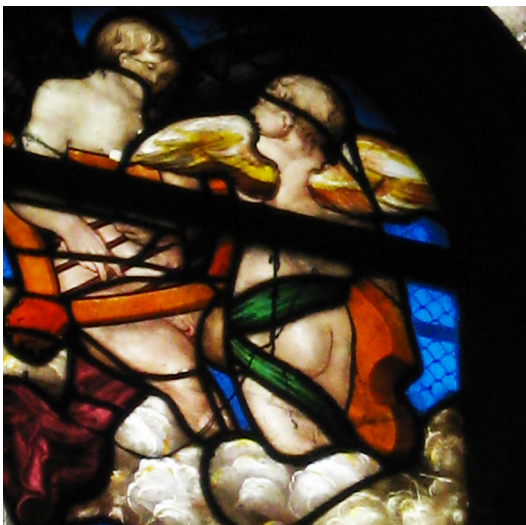
dates much of the sixteenth-century stained glass windows at Église Saint-Étienne-du-Mont to the 1540s. Guy-Michel Leproux, *La peinture à Paris sous le règne de François I^{er}. France, études IV* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), 22-23, 36.



Cat. 27

Stained glass window
Cathédral Saint-Étienne
Sens, Burgundy
c. 1556

An angel viol-player can be seen above a scene of the Sibyl of the Tiber, not in the lights above the main panels, but at the very top of the left panel, hovering on clouds above the architectural background. Paired with a harp, the angel is depicted turned away from the viewer, and consequently only the viol's large upper bout, deep ribs and dark wood colour can be seen, suggesting a stain or varnish.



Comité français du Corpus vitrearum, and Inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), 178.

Cat. 28

Viol

Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons et accordez, les voix humaines, fleustes d'Alleman, Fleustes à neuf trous, Violes, et Violons*...Lyon: Michel du Bois, 1556.

Engraving, printed book

1556

Within Jambe de Fer's book an engraved image of a viol has been depicted.

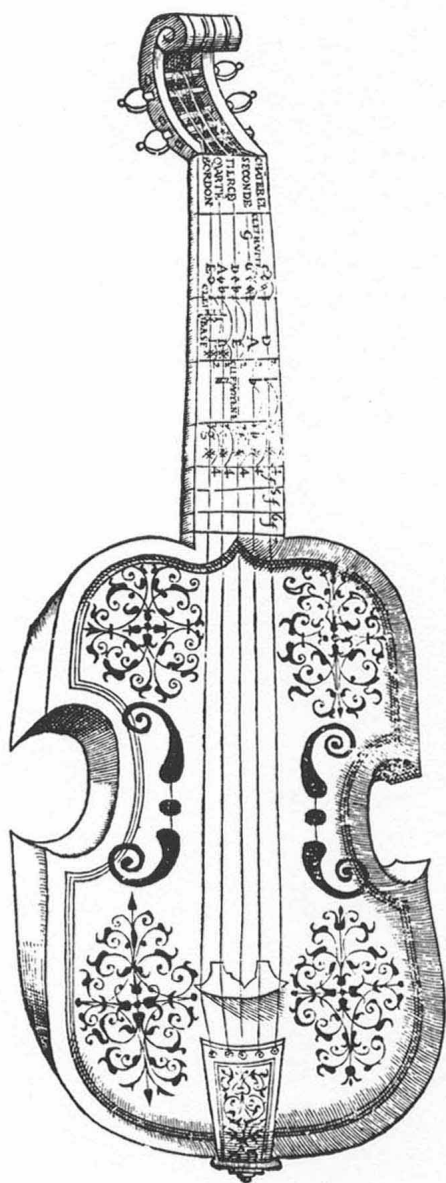
Unlike the violin, which Jambe de Fer declares in his treatise to be so common that it need not be illustrated, the viol is a strong physical representation of his treatise, showing notes at respective fret positions, string names and intervals on the five strings.

The shaded curved body of the viol has elaborate decorative embellishment, flame or decorative outward-facing c-shaped soundholes and purfling, a

low curved bridge and a similarly decorated tailpiece. The engraving also shows a scrolled pegbox, deep ribs and pointed corners.

Gordon J. Kinney, 'Viols and Violins in the *Epitome Musical* (Lyons 1556) of Philibert Jambe de Fer', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 4 (1967), 14-20.

Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 200-04.





Cat. 29

Giorgio Ghisi, after a drawing by Luca Penni

Apollon sur le Parnasse, au milieu des muses

Engraving

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, 4879 LR/ Recto

H. 23.9 cm; W. 29.3 cm

c. 1556-67

Giorgio Ghisi was an engraver who specialized in detailed copies of works by Italian masters, therefore opening up the market to new audiences in Northern Europe.

Such was the case when he worked for Hieronymus Cock at his publishing house in Antwerp c. 1550. From c. 1556 Ghisi was in France for approximately a decade, making detailed engravings from drawings by Fontainebleau masters such as Luca Penni and Primaticcio. In 1559-60 he was one of the first printmakers to be awarded a royal privilege for single plates.

The design of the engraving (after the drawing) is one of very few from the School of Fontainebleau where Apollo does not play a viol. Here, he plays a large fretted

viola da braccio. A Muse plays a tenor-sized viol in a position facing away from the viewer. This positioning has been used to depict viol-playing Muses by a number of artists the School of Fontainebleau, most notably by Primaticcio in the Salle de Bal (Cat. No. 17 and Cat. 18, after Primaticcio), the drawing of *La Musique* by Baptiste Pellerin (Cat. 38), and by Antoine Caron in his drawings *Histoire de la Reine Artémise* (Cat. 39) and *Jeux funèbres* (Cat. 40).

Assuming Ghisi has created an accurate copy of Penni's drawing, Penni has maintained the decorative Greek lyre-shaped pegbox in this composition that we see in Boyvin's engraving of Penni's *Muse* (see Cat. 23). This type of pegbox can be found on all depictions of stringed instruments in Ghisi's engraving except for the lute. The viol has medium depth ribs with decorative scrolled corners, a long fretted neck and a long bow played underhand. A second possible viol is resting to the right of the Muses next to an open music part book. The viol has six strings, the same pegbox, decorative scrolled bouts with inward-facing c-shaped soundholes, a curved realistic-looking bridge, a tapering triangular tailpiece and a curved front plate.

Suzanne Boorsch, Michal Lewis and R. E. Lewis, *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 99-101.

Cat. 30

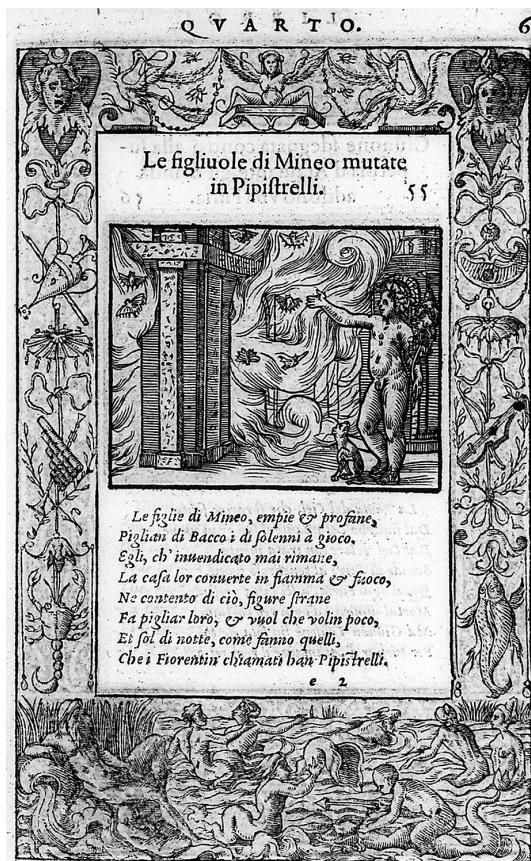
Engraving, printed book

Illustrations de La Vita e Metamorphoses d'Ovidio. Lyon: Giovanni di Tournes, 1559, fols. 67r, 148v.

Paris, BnF, Res p Yc 746

1559

Bowed string instruments have been identified in the border decoration of two pages of this Italian-language publication of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, published by Jean de Tournes in Lyon.¹ Both pages, fols. 67r and 148v use the same decorative border, recounting the stories of the daughters of Mineo being turned into bats (seen here) and the death of Orpheus at the hands of the *Bacchantes*. The decorative border features fish, crustaceans, grotesques, one viol (or violin) and a set of pan pipes, making perhaps an allusion to the story of Apollo and Marsyas. Similar in shape to



viols depicted in stained glass panels at the Collégiale Notre Dame-en-Vaux in Chalons-en-Champagne (fig. 3, 3a) and the Basilique Saint-Urbain in Troyes (Cat. 24), the top bouts are square in shape tapering to a wide neck, with a large central circular soundhole. A strongly-arched bow can be seen behind the instrument.

1. Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Étude sur Jean Cousin, suivie de notices sur Jean Leclerc et Pierre Woeiriot* (Genève: Slatkine reprints, 1971, original printing Paris, 1872), 171.

For an in-depth study of Latin editions of Ovid published in France before 1600, see Ann Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France: A survey of the Latin editions of Ovid and commentaries printed before 1600*, Warburg Institute Surveys, VIII (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1982).





Cat. 31

Pierre Courteys, after an engraving by Giorgio Ghisi

Apollon sur le mont Parnasse

Platter, painted enamel on copper

Paris, Musée du Louvre, MR 2439

H. 38.6 cm; W. 50.3

c. 1550-68

This enamel plate copies Ghisi's engraving (Cat. 29), which is in turn based on Penni's drawing. When compared to Ghisi's engraving, the viol and viola da braccio depicted by Courteys are fractionally smaller in size. A second plate exists, made by Courteys and also in the Louvre collection (R261), copying Ghisi's popular engraving, but the stringed instrument (viol or large viola da braccio) to the bottom right of the scene is missing. The figures on the second platter are more expertly rendered, also incorporating gold highlights and subtle colour into the depiction.

E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers*, vol. 4 (Paris: Gründ, 1999), 25-26.



Cat. 32

Embroidered bed head

Silk satin, silk thread

London, Victoria & Albert Museum, T.405-1980

H. 126 cm; W. 173 cm

c. 1550-70

Thought to have been made for Henri II, this bed head is also believed by the Victoria & Albert Museum to be one of the only intact embroidered bed heads from the sixteenth century.¹ The composition of the bed head panel is an all-over pattern of grotesques, symmetrical on a central vertical axis, with a border decoration in a similar style. Although anonymous, the arabesques, medallions, hanging fabric, jewels and decorative elements, fanciful figures, animals and monsters are very similar to the grotesques of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, whose 1566 book, *Livre de grotesques* was much copied among Fontainebleau artists.² Museum documentation from the Victoria & Albert museum connects figurative elements from the embroidered bed head to du Cerceau's printed *grotesques* panels (see fig. 10; this similar example is by Fontainebleau artist Domenico del Barbieri). A further connection to du Cerceau's decorative style can be seen in the thin intarsia and



strapwork, providing an elegant and symmetrical framework within which the fanciful figures sit (see fig. 11).



Within this decorative panel are putti holding viols, and except for a few long curving trumpets, these are the only instruments in the main embroidered panel. The two types of putti depicted include two standing putti with viol and bow, and four sitting putti with viols but no bows. While there is no bow, one of their hands is placed near the instrument, suggesting perhaps a plucking motion, similar to the angel musician depicted on the Gonesse organ casing (see 4a). They are all of the same small tenor or treble size, and mirrored across the different sections.



The viols are depicted with an elongated oval shape, with pointed corners and medium to deep ribs. In the decorative border groups of instruments are arranged seen from above, including viols, violins, cornets or serpents and musical part books.



1. According to the bed head's online museum documentation, a fragment of a valance with identical fabric has been identified at the Louvre's Musée des Arts Décoratifs by Donald King. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93443/bed-head-unknown/>

2. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre de grotesques* (Paris, 1566).

Donald King, 'A set of embroideries', *Objects for a Wunderkammer* (London: Colnaghi exhibition, 1981), 244-45.

Natalie Rothstein and Santina M. Levey, 'Furnishings, c. 1500 - 1780', *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, David Jenkins, ed. (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2003), 640.



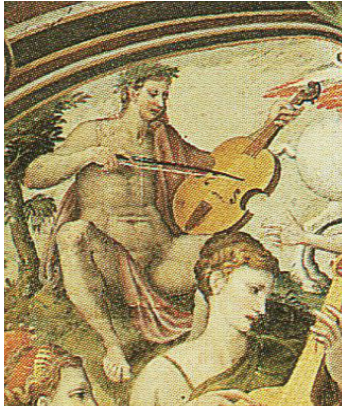
Cat. 33

Francesco Primaticcio, possibly Ruggiero de' Ruggieri

La Musique, part of a series of seven frescos of the Liberal Arts, Chambre des Arts
Ancy-le-Franc, Château Ancy-le-Franc, Burgundy

c. 1560s

After the death of François I in 1547, Primaticcio found less of his time being taken up by royal commissions in the Château de Fontainebleau. His attention turned elsewhere and a number of frescos in can be attributed to the Italian master for various nobility, including the cardinal of Lorraine at Meuse and the Duke and



Duchess of Guise at Joinville. Later in the c. 1560s, Primaticcio was commissioned for a series of oval frescos in the ‘Chambre des Arts’, a room within the Château Ancy-le-Franc in Burgundy. Depicting the Liberal Arts of Astronomy, Arithmetic, Geometry, Grammar, Logic, Music and Rhetoric, a viol is represented within the scene of Music.¹

Primaticcio seems to have combined a series of pre-executed designs and figures for the Ancy-le-Franc painting, and the viol is within the hands of Apollo, presented in a similar posture as the Fontainebleau Salle de Bal spandrel fresco. Nine Muses and a Pegasus are also present, playing plucked and bowed string instruments, reading musical part books and possibly dancing. The viol, however, is depicted in a very different style than that of the Salle de Bal fresco. In this painting, the viol has taken on a very realistic appearance, with an oval body shape, a deep waist with pointed corners, f-shaped soundholes, a visible bridge, a tapering tailpiece, five or six strings, medium depth ribs and what appears to be a lion-head pegbox.

1. Sebastiano Serlio, Myra Nan Rosenfeld, *Serlio on Domestic Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1978), 25.

Primatice, maître de Fontainebleau (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 460, 466-68.

Cat. 34

Primaticcio (after, or workshop of)

Apollon et le Muses sur le Parnasse, also called *La Musique*

Pen and ink drawing

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, INV 5856, Recto

H. 23.1 cm; W. 27 cm

c. 1560s

This drawing, believed to be from the workshop of Primaticcio, is a copy of *La*



Musique, one of the seven Liberal Arts represented in the Chambre des Arts at the Château d'Ancy-le-Franc. The drawing can be asserted to be after Primaticcio, instead of being a preparatory drawing for the fresco, due to the lesser quality of many details of the drawing, most notably the faces of the Muses, which lack the graceful rendering of the Italian master. The viol, seen in the fresco in a more realistic modern depiction, has here been depicted with shallow ribs, a long neck and lion-head pegbox.

Primatice, maître de Fontainebleau (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 466-68.

Cat. No. 35

Pierre Woeiriot

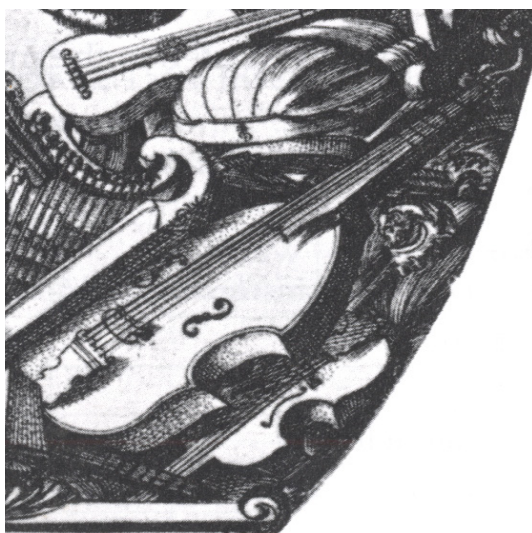
Gaspard Duiffoprugcar

Engraving

Zürich, Graphische Sammlung der ETH, R.D. 284 S. 178

1562

Gaspar Duiffoprugcar (or Tieffenbrucker) was a Bavarian instrument maker with training in Northern Italy, who settled in Lyon in 1533 and acquired French



nationality in 1558. He is pictured here in an engraving by Pierre Woeiriot dated 1562. In the portrait he holds a draftsman's compass. Lutes, viols, violins, guitars, harps and cases for instruments can be seen around him.

Several viols are depicted on the right side of the image below Duiffoprugcar. Their ribs are thicker in depth when compared to the darker stained or shaded violin to their left. The viol on top of the collection of instruments clearly has five strings (a characteristic of French viols, as noted by Philibert Jambe de Fer in his contemporary treatise *Epitome musical*), a low bridge, and frets. A smaller viol can also be seen below it, with a further fretted neck of an instrument suggested to the side. Inventories of deceased instrument makers from the period included a number of string instruments described as 'in the style of', such as a lute 'in the style of' Paris, capitalising on the established craft and artistic output of these centres.¹ Considered an

accurate portrayal of instruments in the period, such an image would have depicted the range of instruments Duiffoprugcar made to suit all tastes and fashions in Lyon and beyond, catering to international tastes.

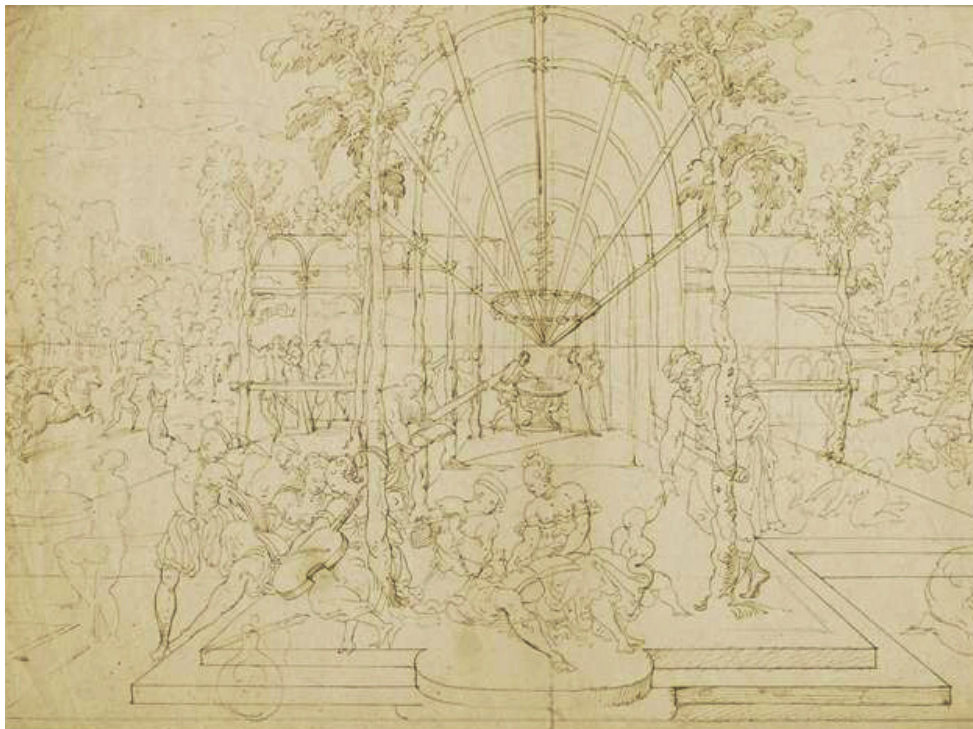
The instrument depicted in the engraving bear no resemblance to the viols supposedly attributed to Duiffoprugcar, such as the viol found at the Brussels Musical Instrument Museum, or at The Hague Gemeentemuseum. The decorative and structural aspects of the instruments differ greatly, from the body shape and soundholes, to the scrolls and tailpieces.

Woeiriot was from Lorraine, a connection he proudly maintained throughout his life. He travelled to Lyon early in his career, but remained in the service of the Dukes of Lorraine during the 1560s. Duiffoprugcar may have had to travel to Lorraine to sit for this portrait.

1. '...ung autre luth fasson de Paris...'. François Lesure, 'La facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. VII (April 1954), 47.

Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Étude sur Jean Cousin, suivie de notices sur Jean Leclerc et Pierre Woeiriot* (Genève: Slatkine reprints, 1971, reprint from Paris, 1872), 279-303.

Florence Gétreau, 'Instrument making in Lyon and Paris around 1600', *Musikalische Aufführungspraxis in nationalen Dialogen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Teil 2, Musikinstrumentenbau-Zentren im 16. Jahrhundert* (26. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium, 6-8 May 2005) (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2007): 179-204.



Cat. 36

Jean Cousin le Fils

Conversations galantes et réunion de musiciens sous une pergola



Pen, ink and chalk drawing
 Paris, Musée du Louvre, département
 des Arts graphiques, RF 54635, Recto
 H. 26.1 cm; W. 41.7 cm
 c. 1560-65

This drawing, also called the *Allegorie du Printemps*, bears a thematic resemblance to other works of the period by artists such as Antoine Caron (*Le jeune roi apprenant les Beaux Arts*, Cat. 41) and Baptiste Pellerin (*La Musique*,

Cat. 38), in which an active outdoor garden scene features music-making and musical instruments, as well as makes a connection to an excellent education in the Liberal Arts. A pergola is central to all three images, and in the case of *Cousin le Fils* the pergola is given a central focus as almost a study in perspective. At the front of the pergola, a viol and transverse flute are played, assisted by figures holding music part books.

The viol is missing physical details on the body of the instrument, but of what can be discerned it has been depicted with an oval body shape, upper bouts larger than the lower bouts, shallow ribs, pointed corners, a thin fretted neck, loosely scrolled pegbox and a short arched bow played most likely with an overhand bowhold.

Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, translated by Deke Dusinberre, Scott Wilson and Rachel Zerner (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 258-65.

Cat. 37

Portrait, Jean Maillard

From *Modulorum Ioannis Maillardi*. Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1565.

Engraving

1565



The border of this portrait plate, seen here depicting Jean (Joannes) Maillard, was also used by Le Roy and Ballard five years later for the portrait of Guillaume Costeley in his 1570 printed music book *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*. Apollo and the Muses are the subject for the decorative border, and the Muses play (or hold) a portative organ, straight trumpets, a lute, tenor viol and harp while Apollo rests against a Greek lyre. At the bottom left of the border, a Muse plays a tenor viol. While the rendering of the illustration of the instrument is rather plain, it does appear relatively realistic.



The viol, very similar in appearance to le Roy and Ballard's later frontispiece of 1576 (see Cat. 52) is of an extended oval shape, with pointed corners, inward-facing c-shaped soundholes, a tapering tailpiece, rounded bridge, a curved front plate, four strings, a long fretted neck and a scroll or shield pegbox. The short arched bow is played underhand.

Marie-Alexis Colin and Frank Dobbins, 'Maillard, Jean', *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed July 24, 2013, [http://](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17472)

www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17472.

François Lesure and G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1955).



Cat. 38

Baptiste Pellerin (possibly Étienne Delaune)

La Musique

Pen and ink drawing on parchment
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Fonds des
dessins et miniatures, RF 743, Recto
H. 19.8 cm; W. 28.5 cm

c. 1560s



This drawing depicting the allegory of Music, was originally believed to have

been created by Étienne Delaune, but was re-attributed by Valérie Auclair to Baptiste Pellerin, an assertion that has been accepted by the Louvre.¹ In the scene the Muses play a number of musical instruments, including a harp, transverse flute, virginals and a consort of four viols. Nearby a lute, cornets and shawms lay on the ground. This one of very few identified images in sixteenth-century French visual media in which viols or other stringed instruments are played in consort form, reflecting popular music practices of the period (see Cat. 1, 52 and 61 for further examples).

The viols are depicted in a range of sizes, from treble to bass, and the Muses are positioned facing each other, giving the viewer the impression of observing an active musical scene. Most of the viols are not visible, due to the close positioning of the Muses, but what can be seen suggests realistic instruments are being portrayed in a true-to-life musical arrangement.

1 Valérie Auclair, 'Étienne Delaune dessinateur? Un réexamen des attributions', *¿Renaissance en France, renaissance française?* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 2009), 143-62. In this article, however, Auclair discusses the likely connection of Nicolas Houel as creator of the drawing, due to his initials present on the table under the pergola.



Cat. 39

Antoine Caron

From *Histoire de la Royne Artémise*, by Nicolas Houel

Pen and ink drawing, brown wash, heightened with white, paper

BnF, département des Estampes et photographie, EST RESERVE AD-105

H. 44 cm; W. 50 cm



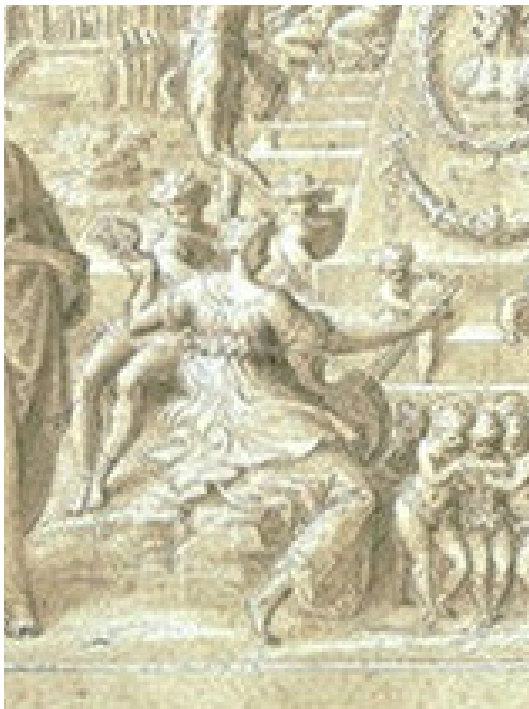
c. 1563

In a collection of sonnets dated c. 1563, Nicolas Houel made the connection between the grief-stricken Artemisia, who ruled her kingdom after the death of her beloved Masolus, and Catherine de Médicis, widowed unexpectedly in 1559 and regent of France while her young sons reached maturity.¹ Drawings by Caron feature elements of the story of Artemisia, many of which are found on the reverse page of the text.

In this drawing of Artemisia, warrior queen of Halicarnassus, she stands among seated female musicians in a chariot pulled by unicorns. Around the chariot, long curving horns are blown and women carry flowers. On the chariot Artemisia plays a Greek lyre, also held by a seated female musician. At the back of the chariot, a viol is played, visible only by its fretted neck and scrolled pegbox. She is again depicted facing away from the viewer. The woman's left hand holds the neck with splayed fingers suggesting a plausible hand position, while her bent posture infers her right arm has reached forward in a bowing motion. Nothing further can be seen of the instrument.

1. Jeanice Brooks, 'Catherine de Médicis, nouvelle Artémise: Women's Laments and the Virtue of Grief', *Early Music*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1999), 420.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 57-83.



Cat. 40

Antoine Caron

Jeux Funèbres autour de la pyramide du roi Mausole

From *Histoire de la Royne Arthémise*, by Nicolas Houel

Pen and ink drawing, brown wash, heightened with white, paper

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, RF 29752.3, recto
H. 40.6 cm; W. 55.6 cm

After c. 1563

Queen Artemisia ruled Halicarnassus

alongside her king and brother, Mausolus until his death in the fourth century BCE. So aggrieved at his death, she was fabled to have drunk his ashes every day to be his living tomb, and she built a large funeral monument in his memory that became one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Here we see a musical scene set at the pyramid of Artemisia's monument to Mausolus. Putti and female musicians surround the

pyramid, and seated on the bottom left a viol player has been depicted.

Facing away from the viewer, the positioning is the same as found in Primaticcio's drawing (and dell'Abate's fresco) of Parnassus in the Château de Fontainebleau's Salle de Bal (Cat. 17, 18), Ghisi's print after Penni's drawing of a similar theme (Cat. 29), and Baptiste Pellerin's *La Musique* (Cat. 38). In this case, Caron's depiction most closely resembles Ghisi's engraving, as the visible portions of the waist of the viol, horizontally outstretched bow arm, bent angle of the player's visible leg and the fanciful Greek lyre-shaped pegbox are almost identical in detail.

Jeanice Brooks, 'Catherine de Médicis, nouvelle Artémise: Women's Laments and the Virtue of Grief', *Early Music*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1999), 419-35.



Cat. 41

Antoine Caron

Le jeune roi apprenant les beaux arts

From *L'Histoire françoise de nostre temps*

Pen and ink drawing, brown wash heightened with white, paper



Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, RF 29728.BIS4, recto

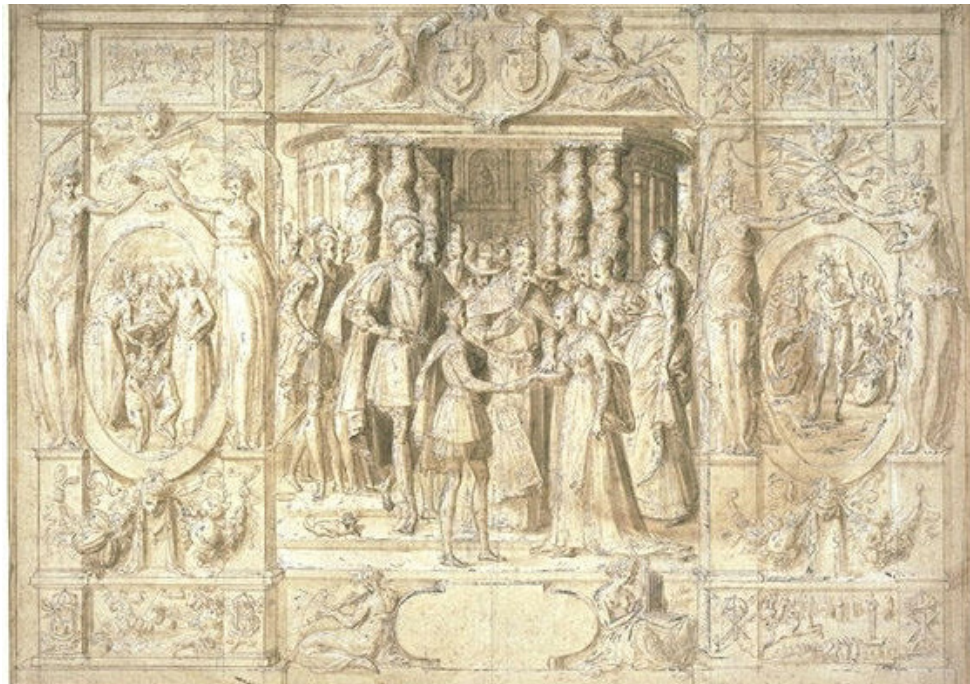
H. 40.7 cm; W. 55.5 cm

c. 1560s

This image shows Charles IX seated at a table looking at a book, most likely a music part book. A number of individuals around the table are arranged around two or three other similar part-

books, and it is likely that this scene is representing the singing of polyphonic vocal music. Behind Charles IX a violin or viol-type instrument and lute can be seen with what appear to be open musical part books. The stringed instrument is partially concealed by the lute's neck, but of what can be seen, it has shallow ribs, inward-facing c-shaped soundholes, somewhat pointed corners, a long thin neck and what appears to be a loosely scrolled pegbox.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 85-104.





Cat. 42, above

Antoine Caron

Mariage d'Henri II et de Catherine de Médicis

From *L'Histoire françoise de nostre temps*

Pen and ink drawing, brown wash
heightened with white, paper

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département
des Arts graphiques, RF 29752.11, Recto
H. 40.6 cm; W. 55.4 cm

c. 1560s

In the decorative border to the right of the main composition, two viols can be seen in a small oval medallion. These instruments are large in size, much larger than Caron's usual depictions of viols, and the kneeling players have been portrayed reaching down over the instrument. The viols maintain a number of details common to viols depicted in Caron's drawings, including larger lower bouts, shallow ribs and pointed corners. Inward-facing c-shaped can be seen on the lower bouts of the left viol, and transverse flute players can be discerned above this instrument.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 85-104.

Cat. 43

Antoine Caron

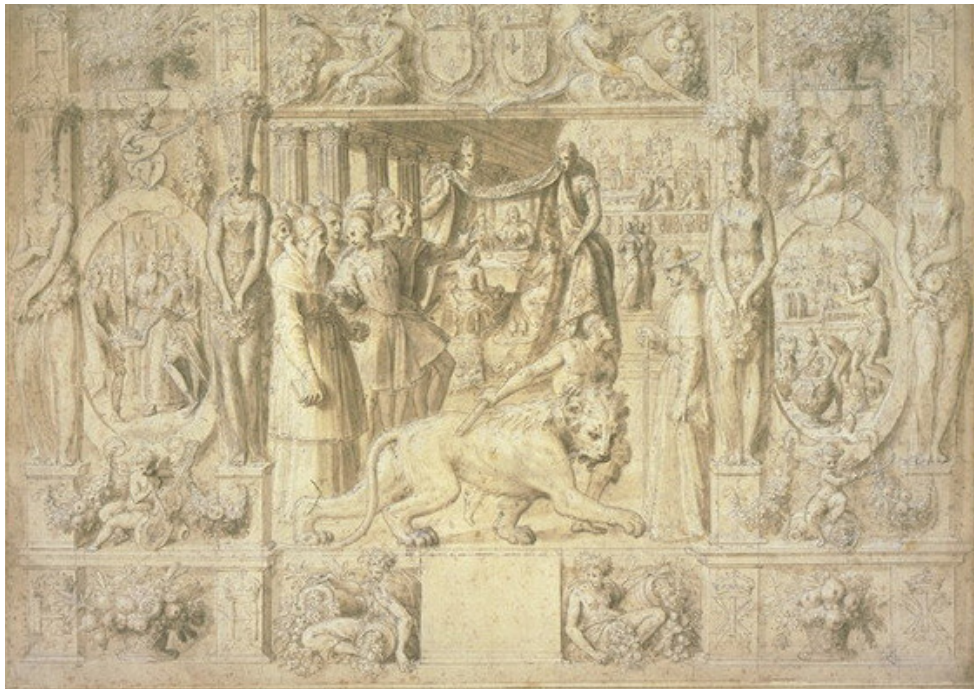
Les Présents échangés entre Clément VII et François I^{er} à Marseille

From *L'Histoire françoise de nostre temps*

Pen and ink drawing, brown wash heightened with white, paper

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, RF 29752.12, Recto
H. 41.2 cm; W. 55.5 cm

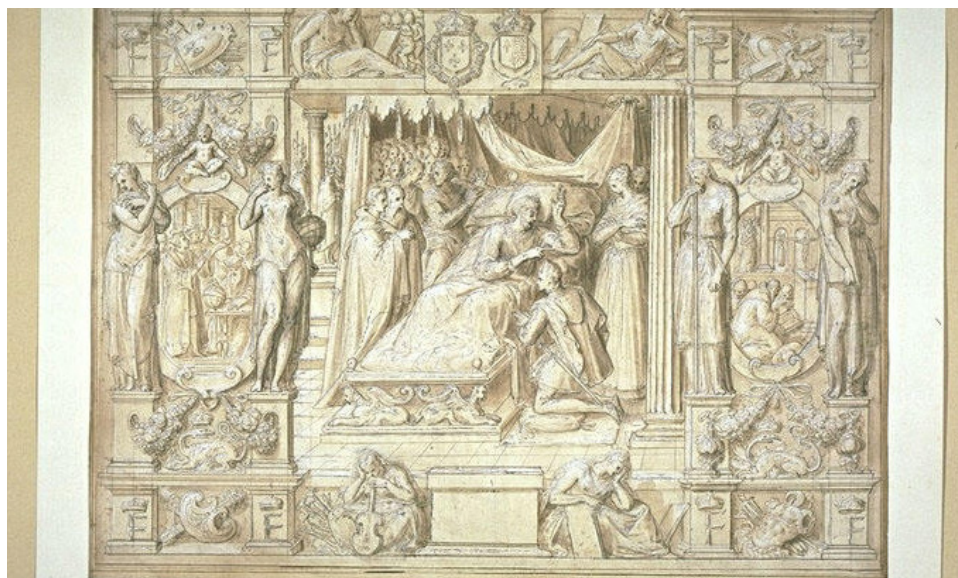
c. 1560s



In this image, also called ‘The lion of Barbarossa’, Caron depicts four putti sitting above and below two oval vignettes within architectural-style border decorations, playing the lute, transverse flute, cornet and the viol. This is a classic example of Caron’s depictions of viols, where the bottom bout is wider and larger than the top bout. The waist has pointed corners, inward-facing c-shaped soundholes are

present as is purfling and the viol has a lute-style pegbox bent backward at ninety degrees. The neck is long and thin, and the short bow is held in a rather unrealistic playing position.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 85-104.



Cat. 44

Antoine Caron

*Mort de François Ier, le roi bénit son fils
Henri II*

From *L'Histoire françoise de nostre
temps*

Pen and ink drawing, brown wash
heightened with white, paper

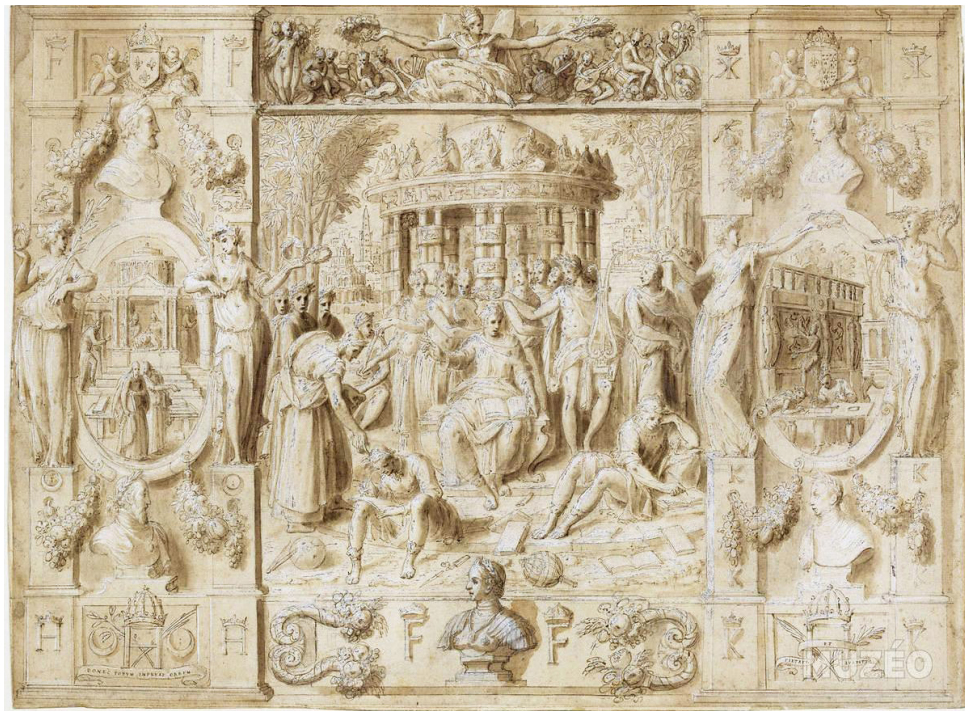
Paris, Musée du Louvre, département
des Arts graphiques, RF 29752.13, recto
H. 40.8 cm; W. 55.7 cm

c. 1560s



The central image depicts François I on his death bed, blessing the future Henri II, who kneels before him. Below this scene, in the decorative border a Muse, perhaps representing 'Music' as one of the Liberal Arts, sits forlorn with her head lowered to her hand, which rests on the pegbox of a treble viol or violin. The sentiment conveyed in the main image of the death of François I is also reflected in the border illustrations. The Muse does not play her viol – it is silent – as she mourns the pending death of the great patron of the arts. The instrument itself is small in size, with an exaggerated waist that extends the empty space into the upper bouts, not unlike the viol seen in Jean de Goumont's *L'Adoration des bergers* (Cat. 2).

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 85-104.



Cat. 45

Antoine Caron

Renaissance des Arts et des Lettres ou Nicolas Houel dictant son ouvrage

From *L'Histoire françoise de nostre temps*

Pen and ink drawing, brown wash heightened with white, paper

Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, RF 29752.19, recto

H. 40.5 cm; W. 55.2 cm

c. 1560s

Busts of François I and Catherine de Médicis can be seen at the top of the decorative border, displayed with their coats of arms. Below, a bust of Henri II is illustrated with his crescent moon device and motto 'Donec Totum Impleat Orbem', as well as Charles IX's device of two columns and his motto, 'Pietate et Iustitia'.¹ At the top of the central border decoration putti are gathered on either side of a Muse or female representation of France, dressed in robes decorated with the fleur de lys and holding



out wreaths of fruit, vegetables and grain.

The putti play and sit among musical instruments, and one plays the lute.

To the left, a viol or large violin-type instrument can be seen on the floor near

open music part books. It is typical in shape for a depiction of a viol by Caron, with lower bouts that are larger and wider than the top bouts, pointed corners and a long thin neck. The neck, however, is curved and ends in a loose scroll or animal head. Apollo is also evoked by a large Greek harp adjacent to the viol and possibly by a vase of water on its side, a symbol used by Primaticcio in the preparatory drawing of Apollo for the Fontainebleau Salle de Bal spandrel fresco and much copied after by subsequent Fontainebleau artists.

1. Frances Amelia Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1975), 127.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 85-104.





Cat. No. 46, above

School of Fontainebleau, possibly Niccolo dell'Abate or Ruggiero de Ruggieri

Fresco

Ancy-le-Franc, Château de Ancy-le-Franc, Galerie de Pharsale

c. 1560s

The large wall mural in the Galerie de Pharsale depicts the battle of Pharsalus in Greece, a decisive victory of Caesar Augustus and his allies over Pompeius Magnus in 48 BCE. Musical instruments, books and symbols of the Liberal Arts can be seen strewn below an advancing chariot lead by lions. Alongside straight and coiled trumpets, a lute, cornet and recorders, a viol or violin-type instrument can be seen.

The instrument is small in size in comparison to the nearby lute; it has five strings, a curved bridge, inward-facing c-shaped soundholes on all bouts, somewhat pointed corners, purfling, a thin tapering tailpiece, shallow ribs and a fingerboard that does not extend past the neck onto the body.

Sylvie Béguin and Francesca Piccinini, *Nicolò dell'Abate, storie dipinte nella pittura del cinquecento tra Modena e Fontainebleau, a cura di Sylvie Béguin e Francesca Piccinini* (Modena: Museo Civico d'Arte, 2005).

Cat. 47

Étienne Delaune, after a drawing of Nicolo dell'Abate

Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus

Engraving

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 28361:3

H. 3.9 cm; W. 5.5 cm

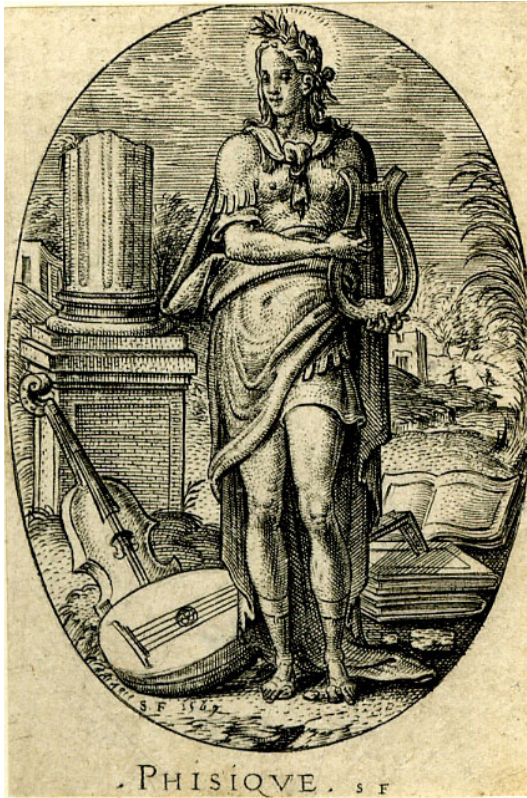
1569

This small engraving of Étienne Delaune closely follows the drawing of Niccolo dell'Abate (Cat. 22), recorded as such at the bottom of the engraving. The viol, in the



hands of Apollo, however, has been depicted with a few subtle changes in physical structure. Four strings are now visible, unlike dell'Abate's drawing, and the longer thin tailpiece has become short and wide, most likely avoiding interference with Apollo's bow hand, directly over the strings. The upper bouts are elongated and larger than the lower bouts, a shading effect has been added to the body perhaps to illustrate the wood grain or curvature of the front plate. The ribs are shallow, the soundholes are in and outward-facing c-shape, and the waist with pointed corners is not symmetrical. The fretted neck is wide and the fingerboard extends slightly over the body. On the loose scroll pegbox, three dots imply pegs, which would more likely suggest five or six strings, not the visible four. An underhand bowhold and specific left hand position also copies dell'Abate's drawing, although Apollo's bow hand has here been more realistically and gracefully rendered.

Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, et al. *French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, 1994).



Cat. 48

Étienne Delaune

Phisique, from a series of twelve prints representing Science, Minerva and Wisdom

Engraving

London, British Museum, 1834,0804.251

H. 5.4 cm; W. 3.7 cm

c. 1569

Holding the Greek lyre, this depiction is most likely also of Apollo, and a lute and viol or violin-type instrument can be seen at his feet. The bowed string instrument is of questionable accuracy, as the bridge sits high on the body.

The instrument has three strings, a fretted neck, a curved front plate, a fingerboard that extends far onto the body, a scrolled pegbox with three visible pegs. No bow is visible.

Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, et al. *French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, 1994).

Cat. 49

Étienne Delaune

Retorique

Engraving

London, British Museum, 1870,0625.793

H. 5.4 cm; W. 3.8 cm

c. 1569

In this small engraved print of a muse playing a small viol or a violin played in a



downward position, a muse plays the instrument in a country landscape in which buildings and a shepherd with his flock can be seen. At her feet are most likely the three books of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The instrument itself is small, with pointed corners, a curved bridge, what appear to be inward-facing c-shaped soundholes, a triangular tapering tailpiece with an end button, four strings, a long neck and a scrolled pegbox. She plays the short arched bow with an overhand bowhold.

The carving of *Retorique* on the organ casing at the Église Notre-Dame in Le

Grand Andely, Les Andelys, Normandy (Cat. 55) directly copies this print as part of a recreation of Delaune's series of twelve engravings, which include the Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences (Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy) as well as the *Ars Memorativa* (Art of Memory) featuring jurisprudence, sapience and theology. Further engravings in the series are of Minerva and Physics (Cat. 48).

The choice to represent a viol-type instrument for rhetoric could relate to the association of the bowed lyre ('lire') alongside the lute during the second half of the century to rhetoric and dialogue.¹ It was recorded, for instance, in the triumphal entry book of the fêtes at Bayonne in 1565 in which a lute and 'lire' player alternated stanzas debating the merits of Virtue and Love.² In 1636, Marin Mersenne includes an entry on the 'lyre' in his book *Harmonie Universelle*, declaring it was not greatly different from the viol, but with a larger neck played more in the manner of a lute or theorbo. The sound of the lyre, he continues, has a languishing quality that was correct for inspiring devotion, accompanying the voice and recitations, and that there was no better instrument to represent the music of Orpheus and antiquity.³

1. Jeanice Brooks, 'O quelle armony': Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance

France', *Early Music History*, vol. 22 (2003), 24. Brooks gives several examples of the lute and lyre being directly connected to poetry composed in the form of a dialogue, such as specific poems by Ronsard, in which musicians are instructed to alternate stanzas.

2. Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The royal tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: festivals and entries, 1564-6* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 46-48.

3. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique. Où il est traité des Consonances, des Dissonances, des Genres, des Modes, de la Composition, de la Voix, des Chants, & de toutes sortes d'Instrumens Harmoniques* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, 1636), 204, 206.



Cat. 50

Antoine Caron

Reception for the Polish Ambassadors at the Jardin de Tuileries

Pen and ink drawing, black chalk and wash

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, No. 1964.74



H. 34.2 cm; W. 49 cm

c. 1573 or after

In September 1573, a spectacle was held in the Jardin des Tuileries by Catherine de Médicis to honour the arrival of Polish ambassadors into Paris, who were finalising plans with Henri de Valois, Duke of Anjou (and later Henri III), who had been elected King of Poland.¹ The event involved a moving mountain with internal and external singers, poetic laments at France's loss of the Duke of Anjou, and a complex choreographed dance, called the *Balet de Polonais*, accompanied by six violinists in sumptuous yellow costumes.

Caron's drawing, however, does not depict the band of six violinists, documented in letters sent back to Poland by the ambassadors, and instead the stock imagery of Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus has been depicted in his drawing of the spectacle, created in every likelihood after the event. On the superficial mountain, two Muses do indeed play violins, two play viols, one plays a lute and Apollo plays the Greek lyre. Only one viol is visible from the front, and the details of the instrument's physical attributes are in keeping with Caron's other depictions of viols, including a long thin neck, a lute-style pegbox bent backward at ninety degrees and a 'side-saddle' playing position, where the instrument is held at an angle.

1. Ewa Kociszewska, 'War and Seduction in Cybele's Garden: Contextualising the Ballet des Polonais', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 65, No. 3 (autumn 2012), 811-12.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 189-200.



Cat. 51

Portrait, Antoine du Verdier

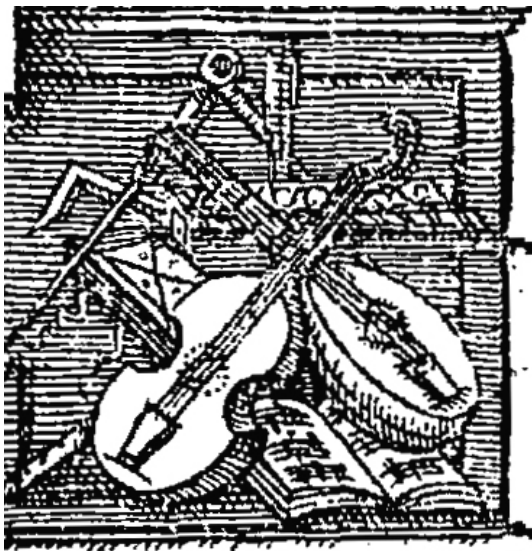
La prosopographie, ou, description des personnages insignes, enrichie de plusieurs effigies, et réduite en quatre livres, vers de Ph. Bugnyon, F. De Belleforest, P. de Larivey... [et al.].

Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1573, 6.

Engraving

Paris, BnF, FC094

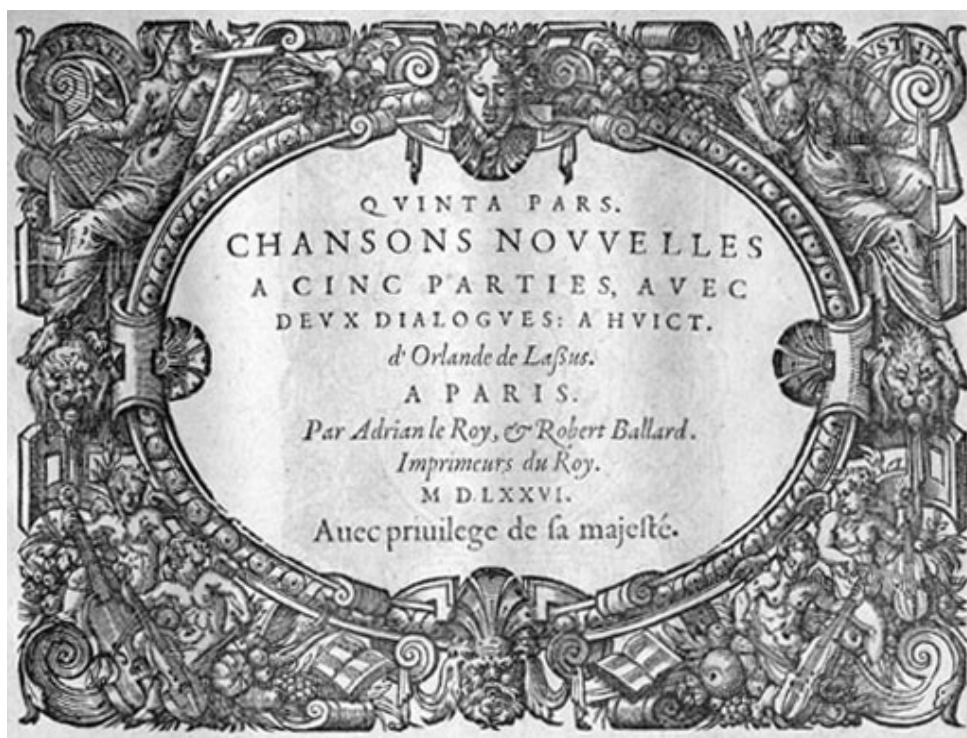
1573



In the border decoration of a portrait of Antoine du Verdier a collection of instruments are arranged in a common style, used throughout the sixteenth century. A viol of medium size is placed with a lute, music book, possibly keyboard instrument as well as a draftsman's compass and square. The viol has four strings, a central rose soundhole, deep ribs, a wide tailpiece, a long fretted neck and a loose scroll pegbox. Above the musical instruments

Minerva is represented. Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom is also connected to arts and trade, and as the Greek goddess Athena she was also goddess of music, poetry and craft, among other attributes. Across from her is Marti, or Mars, god of war. He is represented by the drums, trumpets and weapons of warfare, seen below him.

L'Abbé Reure, *Le bibliographie Antoine du Verdier (1544-1600)* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1897), 63.



Cat. 52

Frontispiece engraving used for music part books printed by Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard



Quinta pars. Chansons nouvelles a cinc parties, avec deux dialogues : a huict. D'Orlande de Lassus, A Paris. Par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy. M. D.LXXVI. Avec privilege de sa majesté. Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1576 (Illustrated).



Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, Res. C3462-Q2

Premier livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard, mis en musique à IIII. parties par Anth. Bertrand a Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy...Superius. Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1587.

Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, LI 64

Second livre des amours de P. de Ronsard, mis

en musique à IIII. parties par Antoine Bertrand natif de Sontanges en Auvergne. A Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy...Superius. Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1587.

Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, LI 64

Troisième livre de chansons, mis en musique à IIII. parties par Antoine Bertrand natif de Sontanges en Auvergne. A Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy...Superius. Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1587.

Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, LI 64

Engraving

1576, 1587

This frontispiece was used by le Roy and Ballard for a number of vocal music publications from 1576 onward, and was even in use by Robert Ballard almost one hundred years later for *D.O.M. Musica sacra ad vespas, aliasque frequentes in ecclesia preces. A 4. Vocibus* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1659).

At the bottom of the frontispiece template, among the Mannerist strapwork, fruit and foliage a consort of four viols are depicted being played by putti. The two groups are separated by size, with a bass viol and tenor viol to the left of the page and a tenor or alto viol and treble to the right of the page.

The consort arrangement of treble, tenor, tenor, bass suits a large amount of four-part vocal music, and suggests that the engraver either copied another engraving, was instructed by someone familiar with viols or knew the sizes of viols that would suit the tessitura of the different vocal parts. The depicted viols are a credible representation of a viol consort in terms of sizes and physical construction. In physical detail the viols depicted show a curved bridge, a curved soundboard, deep ribs, f-shaped soundholes and pointed corners. The necks are fretted, with scroll pegboxes.

François Lesure and G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1955).



Cat. 53

End page

Les meslanges d'Orlande de Lassus contenant plusieurs chansons, à IIII, V, VI, VIII, X parties : reveuz par luy et augmentez. Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1576.

Engraving

Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, Res. C3462_B1

1576

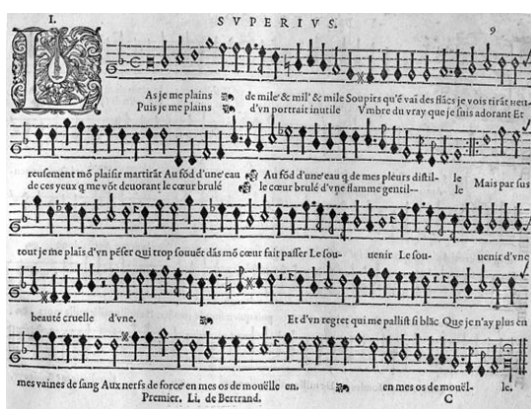


Musical instruments have been used as part of the decorative border of the end plate of *Les Meslanges d'Orlande de Lassus*, a collection of vocal music in four, five, six, eight and ten parts. The central image alludes to Apollo; the Pegasus and Greek lyre commonly depicted in images of Apollo by members of the School of Fontainebleau. Muses, however, have been replaced by putti in this engraving, two of which can be seen above the Pegasus. The putti play lute and harp, and behind them are arranged groups of instruments including recorders, cornets, lutes or similar plucked

instruments, and one viol. Another bowed instrument has been implied on the left by a visible scrolled pegbox and fretted neck.

The viol has five strings, a curved bridge, a triangular tapering tailpiece, very deep ribs, pointed corners, a curved front plate and inward-facing c-shaped soundholes. The neck and scroll of the instrument is not visible, but this appears to be a credible representation of a viol at the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

François Lesure and G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1955).



Cat. 54

Detail from Superius part book

Premier livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard, mis en musique à IIII. parties par Anth. Bertrand a Paris, par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy...Superius. Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1587, fol. 9.

Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, LI 64
1587



Parisian printers Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard also included images of musical instruments in their single letter decoration which grace the beginning of each chanson. Surrounded by fruit and foliage, a viol (or possibly violin) can be perceived under a lute within a square decoration of the letter 'L' at the beginning of the chanson 'Las! Je me

plains' by Claudin de Sermisy in the *Premier livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard*.

This particular letter decoration was first used in the 1576 publication of Lassus's

Chansons nouvelles a cinc parties. What can be seen of the possible viol is that it has a long tapering tailpiece, pointed corners, a wide neck and a bird's head pegbox. The bow is also present and unrealistically large. The size of the viol seems small in comparison to the lute, but it is more likely that the lute, viol and bow were arranged not to scale, but to fit within the decorative space.

François Lesure and G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1955).



Cat. 55

Retorique

Wood carving on organ casing, detail
Église Notre-Dame, Le Grand Andely,
Les Andelys, Normandy
c. 1573 or after¹

This carving of a viol player on an organ casing is a rare example of a depiction of a viol in a sacred context after the mid-point of the sixteenth century. Despite being in a church, this example departs from any sacred connotations, and follows the allegorical and mythological

focus of the School of Fontainebleau, surrounded by elaborate grotesques and strapwork in the Mannerist style. Depicted as the symbol of Rhetoric, the viol player is a direct copy of Etienne Delaune's *Retorique* (Cat. 49), part of a series of twelve engravings that includes the Seven Liberal Arts and the *Ars Memorativa*. Most of the organ casing carvings are also copies of Delaune's series of engravings, notable for his choice to depict musical instruments as the central theme of all the images, except for Minerva.

Here, the instrument is very small and violin-like in nature; it has five strings, front and back plates that overlap the ribs, pointed corners, large f-shaped soundholes, a separate fingerboard, a pegbox with a shield-shaped finial, a curved bridge and



a tailpiece with end button. The short arched bow is played with an overhand bowhold. Similarly to Delaune's engraving, the three books of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* are at her feet, but the pastoral landscape has now been replaced by an interior architectural background of columns and a panelled ceiling.

1. The panel depicting Geometry lists the following dates – 1573, 1568, 1452 and 1349 – suggesting the carvings were made c. 1573, the date of construction Raugel assigns to the organ.

Félix Raugel and Theodore Baker, 'The Ancient French Organ School', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4 (Oct. 1925): 563.



Cat. 56

Prudence

Wood carving on organ, detail
Église Notre-Dame, Le Grand Andely,
Les Andelys, Normandy
c. 1573 or after

The carving symbolising prudence depicts a Muse holding an astrological sphere (spherical astrolabe) in one hand and the scroll of a large viol in the other. The viol has been carved in a realistic manner, with five strings visible, large f-shaped soundholes, somewhat pointed corners, a curved bridge and wide decorative tailpiece. The carved

viol shows no depth of ribs, and appears to have been carved as one piece, attached separately to the wood panel.

Félix Raugel and Theodore Baker, 'The Ancient French Organ School', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4 (Oct. 1925): 563.



Cat. 57

Phisique

Wood carving on organ, detail

Église Notre-Dame, Le Grand Andely,
Les Andelys, Normandy

c. 1573 or after

This carved panel directly copies the engraving by Etienne Delaune of 1569 (Cat. 48). Like the copy of *Retorique*, an interior background has replaced an outdoor scene. The viol, or most likely violin, has four visible strings, a wide fretted neck, a somewhat rectangular body with pointed corners, f-shaped soundholes, deep ribs, and a human head

pegbox that emerges three-dimensionally from the panel.

Félix Raugel and Theodore Baker, 'The Ancient French Organ School', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4 (Oct. 1925): 563.



Cat. 58

Jacques Patin, attributed

Figure des Tritons

Balet comique de la Royne, faict aux nopces de monsieur le duc de Joyeuse & madamoyselle de Vaudemont sa soeur. Par Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx, valet de chambre du Roy, & de la Royne sa mere. A Paris, par Adrian Le Roy, Robert Ballard, & Mamert Patisson. M.D.LXXXII. Paris: Adrian le Roy, Robert Ballard and Mamert Patisson, 1582, fol. 16v.

Engraving

Paris, BnF, département Réserve des livres rares, RES4-LN27-10436 (EPSILON)
c. 1582

The *Balet comique de la royne* was staged for the court of Catherine de Médicis in Paris in 1581, and is considered the first *ballet de cour*. Queen Louise and the ladies of the court were among the performers of this spectacle. The printed book

commemorating the event was written by Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx, with engravings by Jacques Patin.

The engraved musical scene of the Tritons features a lute, straight trumpet, harp and a large bass viol. Created for the Italianate tastes of Catherine de Médicis, the style of the viol strongly favours the Italian model popular in French depictions of the second half of the sixteenth century. It is large, wide in body, with a curved belly, wider ribs that are overlapped by the front and back plate, f-shaped soundholes, six strings, a curved bridge, a triangular tapering tailpiece, a separate fingerboard, a fretted neck and a backward-scrolled pegbox. The arched bow is played with an overhand bowhold.

Edmund A. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800: An Iconographical and Documentary Survey* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989).



Cat. 59

Jacques Patin, attributed

Figure du chariot du Minerve

Balet comique de la Royne, fait aux nopces de monsieur le duc de Joyeuse &



*madamoyselle de Vaudemont sa soeur.
Par Baltasar de Beaujoyeux, valet
de chambre du Roy, & de la Royne
sa mere. A Paris, par Adrian Le Roy,
Robert Ballard, & Mamert Patisson.
M.D.LXXXII. Paris: Adrian le Roy and
Robert Ballard, 1582, fol. 45r.*

Engraving

Paris, BnF, département Réserve des

livres rares, RES4-LN27-10436 (EPSILON)

c. 1582

At the base of the Minerva's chariot an assemblage of instruments can be seen, with a viol placed on top of a harp, sackbut, shawms and music part books. A further arrangement of cornets and part books can be seen to the right. On the left, armour, shields and the weapons of war. This arrangement of instruments in connection to Minerva is similar to that at the base of the portrait in Antoine du Verdier's *La prosopographie* (Cat. 51).

Like the image of the viol in the engraving of the *Figure des Tritons* (Cat. 58), this viol is Italianate in style, but lacks some of the realistic features seen in the Tritons engraving, including the absence of purfling or the depiction of overlapping front and back plates. An oversized arched bow rests under the viol.

Edmund A. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800: An Iconographical and Documentary Survey* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989).

Cat. 60

Jacques Patin, attributed

Figure de la Fontaine

Balet comique de la Royne, faict aux nopces de monsieur le duc de Joyeuse & madamoyselle de Vaudemont sa soeur. Par Baltasar de Beaujoyeux, valet de chambre du Roy, & de la Royne sa mere. A Paris, par Adrian Le Roy, Robert Ballard,



& Mamert Patisson. *M.D.LXXXII*. Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1582, fol. 14v.

Engraving

Paris, BnF, département Réserve des livres rares, RES4-LN27-10436 (EPSILON)

c. 1582

Judging by the three examples from this printed book, it would appear that different artists were working on engravings for the book at the same time. This image, of a fantastical floating fountain, in which ladies of the court dance on the upper tier and musicians play below, is almost of a sketched quality.

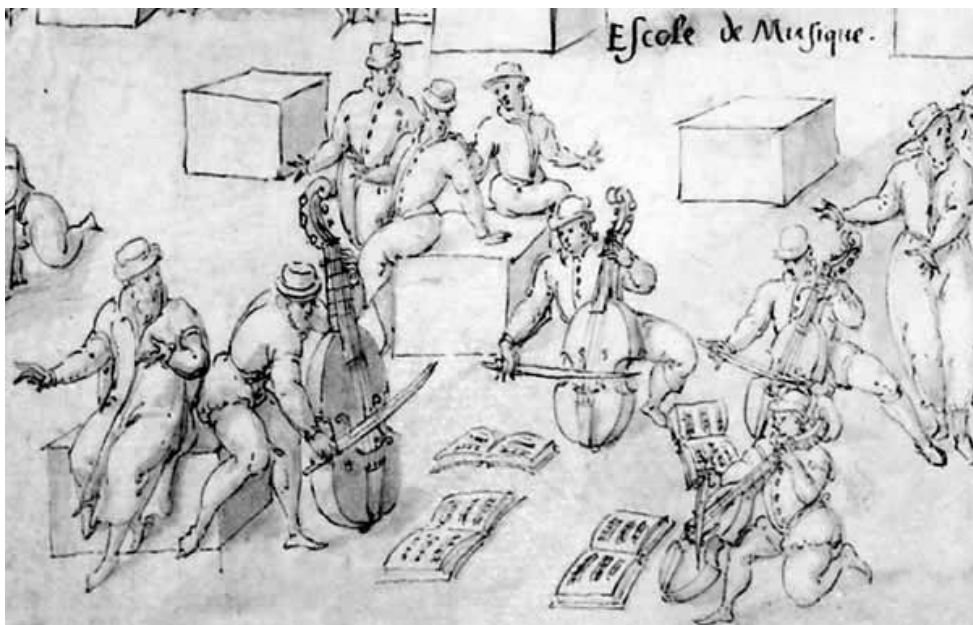


In terms of depictions of the viol, it in no way compares in quality to the *Figure des Tritons* (Cat. 58). The shape of the viol, its width and style of soundholes bears a strong resemblance to viols represented in a drawing by Ligorio Pirro of the *Allegory of Music* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, RF 31662, Recto), fig. 17 and 17a.

The viol is large, very wide across the body, with outward-facing c-shaped soundholes that are crudely rendered, four strings, a curved bridge, a tapering tailpiece, pointed corners, a separate fingerboard and a backward-facing scroll

pegbox. The player stands, and is portrayed gripping the neck and bow with a similar inelegance as the angel viol players of Villiers-sur Tholon (Cat. 5).

Edmund A. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800: An Iconographical and Documentary Survey* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989).



Cat. 61, above

Nicolas Houel

Sketch of an outdoor concert during the visit of Queen Louise of Lorraine, detail of a viol consort in the 'Escole de Musique'

Paris, BnF, département des Estampes, Pd. 30, Pl. 11

c. 1584

Set within an informal sketch of an outdoor scene, a group of four viol players can be seen, with the designation 'Escole de Musique' written nearby. The musicians kneel in a circle facing each other playing from part books at their feet; they are surrounded by listeners sitting or standing nearby. The viol consort is comprised of larger instruments, and seem to comprise one bass, one tenor and two smaller tenor or alto sizes. The depiction of the instruments themselves are realistic and in keeping with the impression conveyed of a live observed sketch.

The viols have large oval bodies, with pointed corners, somewhat shallow ribs, f-shaped soundholes, wide tailpieces with end buttons, separate fingerboards, fretted necks and large scrolled pegboxes with mainly five visible pegs. Long bows are played with a mixture of bow holds, including overhand for the larger two instruments and underhand for the smaller two.

Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 204.

Cat. 62

Jacques Cellier

Aultre Alphabeth grec hieroglificq

In *Recherches de plusieurs singularités* by François Merlin and Jacques Cellier

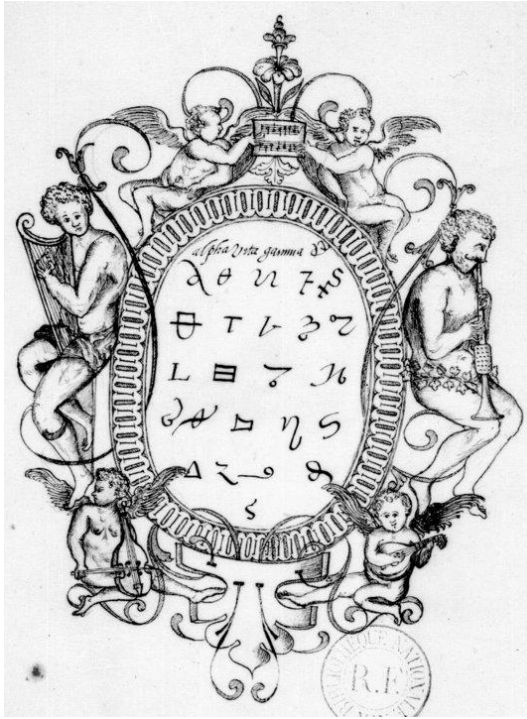
Drawing in a bound manuscript

Paris, BnF, ms. Fr. 9152, fol. 65

H. 36 cm; W. 21.5 cm

c. 1583-87

This beautiful, imaginative and elaborate manuscript is the collaboration of François

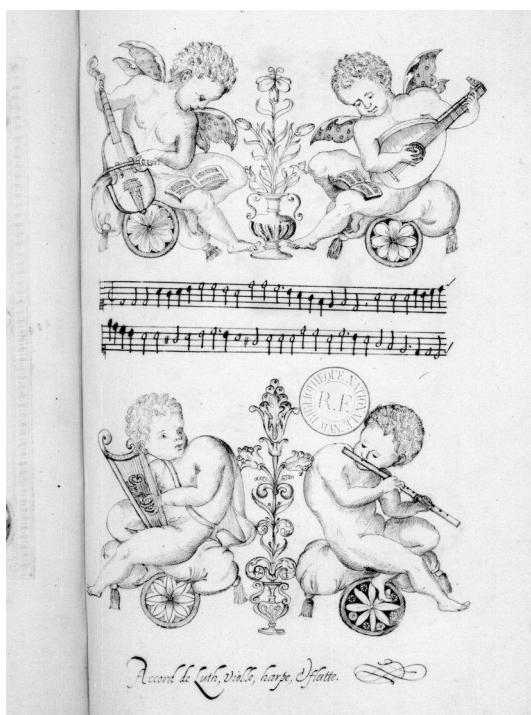


Merlin, *contrôleur general* of the house of Marie Elizabeth, sister of Charles IX and Jacques Cellier of Reims, illustrator. Cellier was the artist responsible for the drawings, calligraphic lettering and embellishment the manuscript, meant to educate and entertain throughout a lifetime. The work is a collection of drawings and explanations of a vast range of things, including different styles of handwriting, religious text, letters of different alphabets from Asia and the Middle East, architecture, mathematical and scientific principles and instruments, musical instruments and drawings composed of from miniature lines of handwriting. A large portion of the subjects are also set in architectural and decorative borders, and the manuscript features a series of dedications to the king.



Within the border decoration surrounding 'Greek hieroglyphics', four putti playing musical instruments have been depicted, including the harp, shawm, viol and lute. A further two putti at the top hold a central page or book of musical notation. The viol is small in size, a treble or small tenor at the largest, with a wide oval shape, pointed corners, a small triangular tailpiece, at least five strings, f-shaped soundholes, shallow ribs, and a long bow played overhand.

Susi Jeans and Guy Oldham, 'The Drawings of Musical Instruments in MS. Add. 30342 at the British Museum', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 13 (Jul. 1960), 26-31.



Cat. 63

Jacques Cellier

Accorde de luth, violle, harpe, & flutte

In *Recherches de plusieurs singularités* by

François Merlin and Jacques Cellier

Drawing in a bound manuscript

Paris, BnF, ms. Fr. 9152, fol. 163

H. 36 cm; W. 21.5 cm

c. 1583-87, probably 1585

Within this manuscript, a large section on musical instruments has been included. Many of these illustrations, especially of plucked and keyboard instruments, include an example of relevant mensural or tablature notation alongside the image.



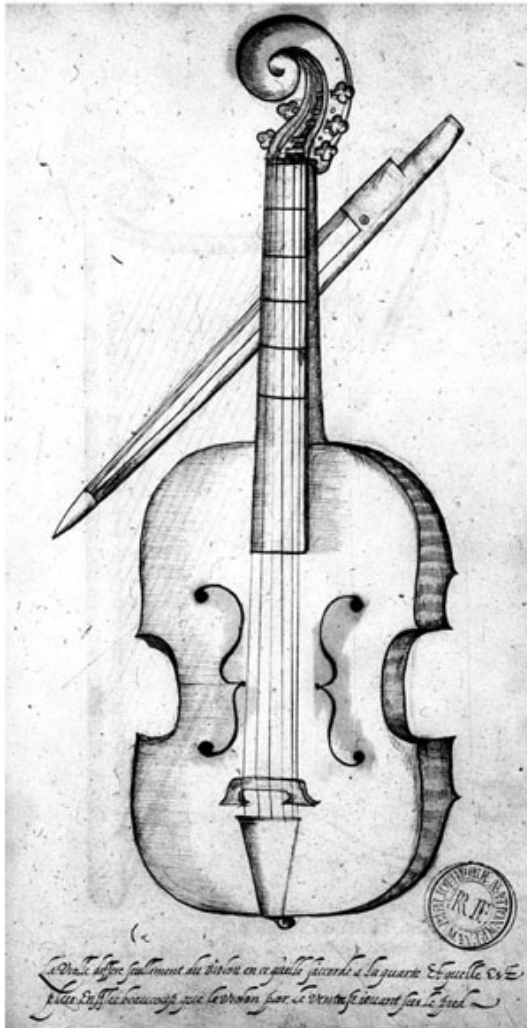
In this image, four putti play a treble viol, lute, harp and transverse flute. On the knees of the putti playing viol and lute, musical part books can be seen, and two lines of mensural notation have been included across the midpoint of the page. Unlike the image on fol. 65 (Cat. 62 above) which also features putti playing a viol and a lute, the playing position of the viol has been reversed, perhaps to maintain an overall appearance of

symmetry with the neck of the lute player opposite.

The viol itself is somewhat stylised, but very representative of a real instrument. It has six strings, a large curved bridge, a long thin fretted neck, a tapering decorative tailpiece with end button, f-shaped soundholes, pointed corners, medium-depth ribs and a scrolled pegbox. The short arched bow is played overhand. While the

instrument itself possesses many aspects of what can be assumed to be an real observed instrument, the putti's playing position is unrealistic and ungainly.

Susi Jeans and Guy Oldham, 'The Drawings of Musical Instruments in MS. Add. 30342 at the British Museum', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 13 (Jul. 1960), 26-31.



Cat. 64

Jacques Cellier

La Violle

In *Recherches de plusieurs singularités* by

François Merlin and Jacques Cellier

Drawing in a bound manuscript

Paris, BnF, ms. Fr. 9152, fol. 175

H. 36 cm; W. 21.5 cm

c. 1583-87, probably c. 1585

Many of the instruments are given their own page, including the mandore, tabourin (drums), trumpet, psaltery, hurdy-gurdy, flute d'allemand (transverse flute), harp, bagpipe, violin, carillon bells, church bells, jingling bells worn by a dancer, *tambora* (possible Turkish tanbur), clavichord, regalles (although it looks more like a portative organ), lute, triangle, cittern, Greek lyre, virginals and

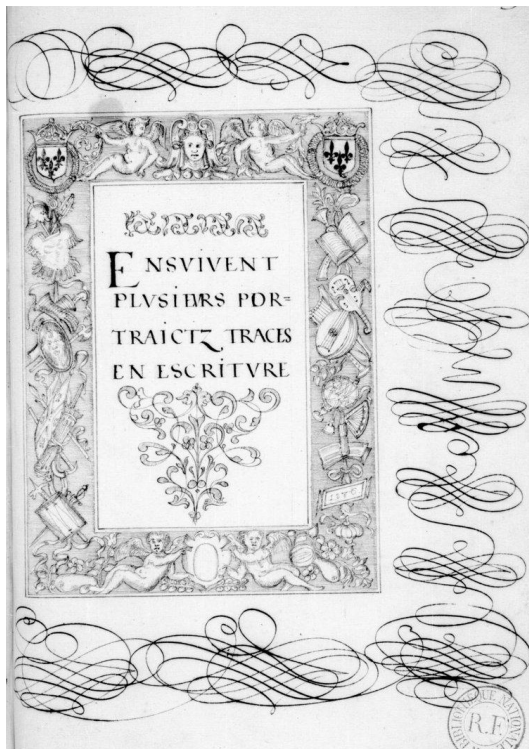
guitar as well as pages of sets of shawms, sackbuts and cornets, musical glasses and a musical anvil.¹

The viol is crudely drawn in comparison to the viol on fol. 163 (Cat. 63 above). Six strings are present, although two are very close together and may in fact be a mistake as only five pegs are visible. The body is wide and somewhat rectangular, with shallow ribs, a straight bridge, a tapering tailpiece with end button, decorative

bracket soundholes, pointed corners, a fretted neck and fingerboard that extends over the body, a scrolled pegbox and short bow. Effort has been taken by Cellier to depict the wood grain on the ribs. Extra corners can be seen on the back plate, a short distance away from the waist's actual corners, suggesting that the back plate has been bent on both the upper and lower bouts, a common feature (at least on the upper bouts) of later viols.

Susi Jeans and Guy Oldham, 'The Drawings of Musical Instruments in MS. Add. 30342 at the British Museum', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 13 (Jul. 1960), 29.

Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, reprint 1988), 203-04.



Cat. 65

Title page, *Ensvivent plvsievrs portraictz traces en escriture*

Jacques Cellier

In *Recherches de plusiers singularités* by François Merlin and Jacques Cellier

Drawing in a bound manuscript

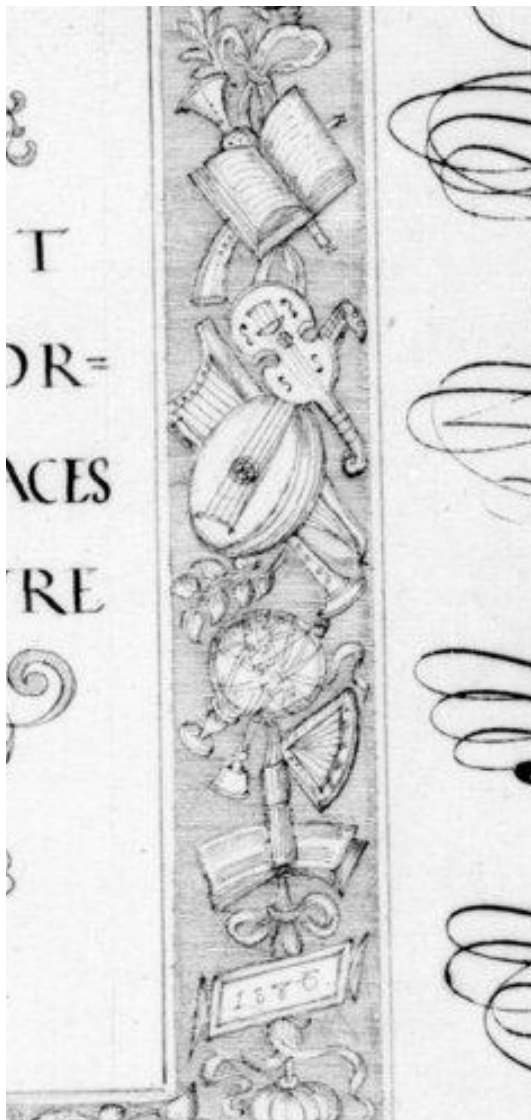
Paris, BnF, ms. Fr. 9152, fol. 193

H. 36 cm; W. 21.5

1586

The title page for this section (an unusual collection of drawings made from miniature lines of calligraphic text) contains instruments of war in

the left vertical column of border decoration and instruments of music in the right. The drawing's date is given below the musical instruments as 1586. The musical decoration, from top to bottom, includes a shawm, cornet, music part book, viol, lute, harp and other wind instruments. Below these are an astrological globe or spherical astrolabe, a book and an unidentifiable object.

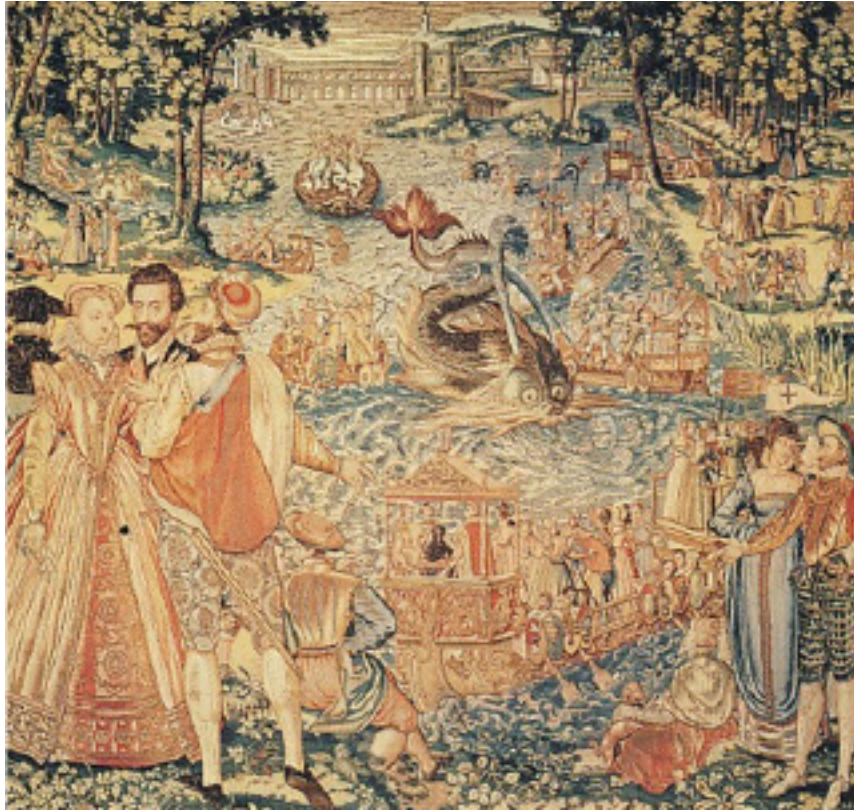


The bowed string instrument is assumedly a viol, as Cellier illustrated the viol within other border decorations within the manuscript, and did not use the violin to such effect. The viol has four or five strings, a central rosette soundhole, f-shaped soundholes on the upper bouts and bracket-shaped soundholes on the lower bouts, a prominent waist with pointed corners, shallow ribs, a curved bridge and lute-style tailpiece connected to the body, a fretted neck and a scrolled pegbox. No bow is visible.

The four viols depicted by Cellier in this manuscript, created perhaps over a period of two or three years at the most, differ greatly in their physical details, and it is somewhat confusing as to why Cellier chose to illustrate each instrument as he did. The viol which

most appears to have been drawn from an observed instrument is in the 'accord' with the lute, harp and flute on fol. 163, seen as Cat. 63. The two border decorations, seen in this illustration and as Cat. 62, are merely part of a themed embellishment to the central text. The viol seen on fol. 175 (Cat. 64) is meant to depict a viol as a reference illustration, yet it is the most crudely rendered out of all four. If Cellier indeed was the creator of all of these illustrations, the discrepancy in quality is curious indeed.

Susi Jeans and Guy Oldham, 'The Drawings of Musical Instruments in MS. Add. 30342 at the British Museum', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 13 (Jul. 1960), 26-31.



Cat. 66, above

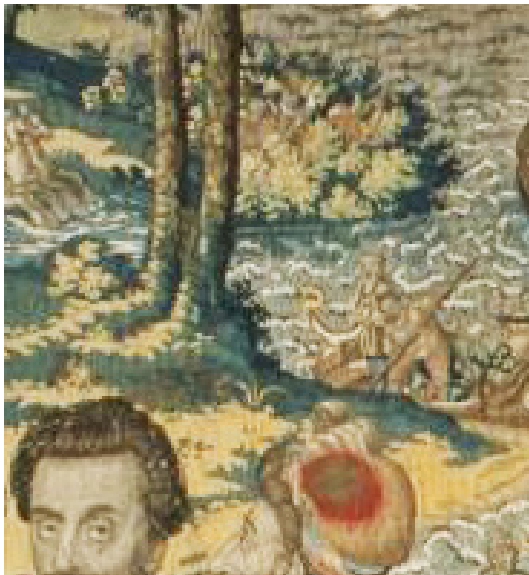
Antoine Caron (design), Lucas van der Heere (cartoon)

*Water Festivities at Bayonne,
Valois Tapestry*

Tapestry

Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. Arazzi, n.
493

c. 1580s



The tapestry of the water festivities is
a culmination of events for the meeting

of Charles IX, Catherine de Médicis and Elisabeth de France in Bayonne in 1565. Much attention was given in van der Heere's cartoon designs to amalgamating many of the events of the festival into one image, as the events depicted in the tapestry correspond closely to Marguerite de Valois's memoirs, published much later in the seventeenth century. Currently under conservation at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence,

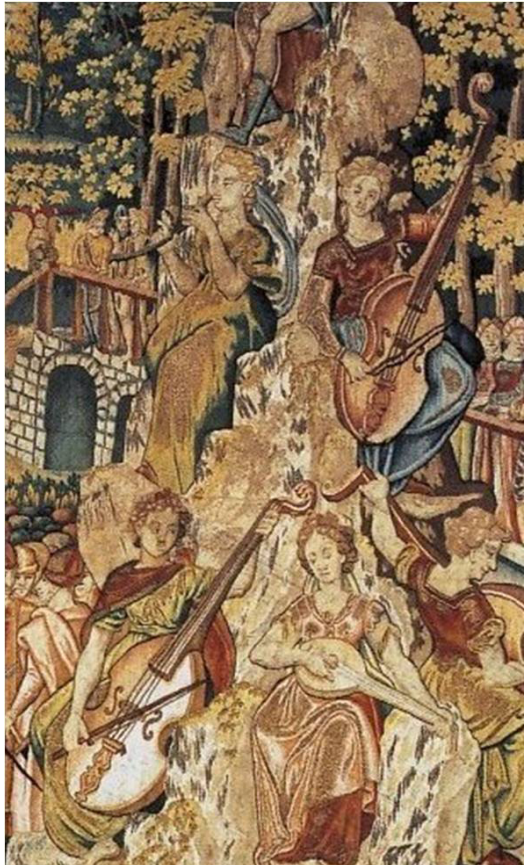


the tapestry contains a number of amusing musical scenes. One can see bagpipe players, water-nymphs playing cornets, and in the top left section of the tapestry, a viol among other musicians hiding in the bushes accompanying Arion, who is portrayed nearby singing and riding a dolphin.

The viol depicted is barely perceptible in most readily available images of the tapestry. Of what can be discerned, it is large in size, with a loose scrolled pegbox and inward-facing c-shaped soundholes. There are possibly also smaller soundholes on the upper bouts. It is illustrated held at a 45 degree angle, perhaps to more easily be camouflaged in the reeds. This musical inclusion is a comical and charming detail within the large and intricate tapestry, hinting at the less-than-typical responsibilities sometimes demanded of musicians within an elaborate spectacle.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 189-200.





Cat. 67

Antoine Caron (design), Lucas van der Heere (cartoon)

Reception for the Polish Ambassadors in the Jardin des Tuileries, Valois Tapestry

Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. Arazzi, n. 472

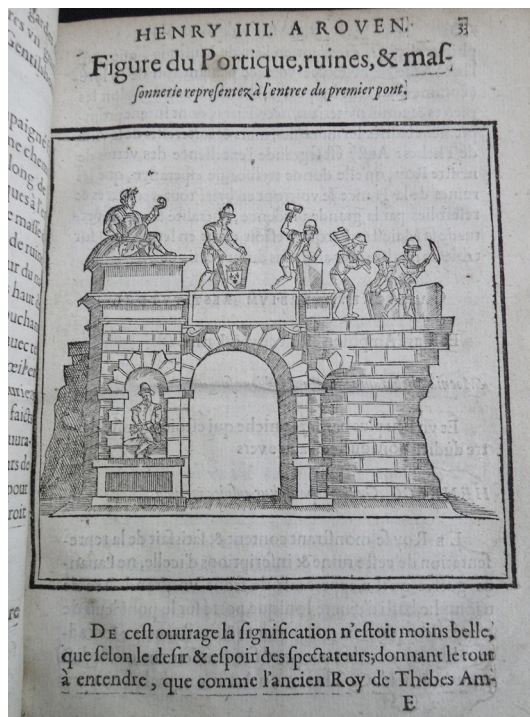
c. 1580s

The theme of Apollo and the Muses is prominent in the design of the tapestry of the *Polish Reception at the Jardin des Tuileries*. Based on a drawing by Antoine Caron, and realised using cartoons by Lucas van der Heere, Apollo and his Muses entertain the guests with a

concert from the mythological setting of Mount Parnassus itself. Three of the Muses play viols (or bass violins), alongside a lute, cornet and in the hands of Apollo, a Greek lyre.

These bass stringed instruments bear some resemblance to those depicted in Caron's drawing of the event, with shallow ribs and long necks. The cartoon by van der Heere and assumedly subsequent similar tapestry, however, bring many more Italianate features to the instruments. A separate fingerboard, purfling decoration and front and back soundboards that overlap the ribs all point to an Italian model and seem to be based on real instruments, albeit with incredibly long necks. Only four strings are depicted on each of the two viols. Coupled with the evidence of only four visible pegs in each pegbox, it could be the case that instead of viols van der Heere chose to depict a bass member of the violin family, an instrument growing in popularity throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 189-200.



Cat. 68

Figure du Portique, ruines, & massonnerie representez à l'entree du premier pont

Discours de la ioyeuse et triomphante entree de tres-haut, tres-puissant et tres-magnanime Prince Henri III de ce nom, tres-Chrestien Roy de France & de Nauarre, faicte en sa ville de Rouën, capital de la prouince & duché de Normandie, le Mercredy saizième iour d'Octobre. Rouen: Martin le Mesgissier, 1596, fol. Er.



Engraving in a printed book
1596

The engraving of Amphion playing a viol amongst mason workers represents the allegory of Amphion and his ability to move stones in the construction of the wall surrounding the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes, using only the sweet sound of his lyre. The viol depicted was most likely a crude replication of earlier engravings of the mid-sixteenth century, with a long oval body shape, tapering bottom bout and triangular tailpiece. The

soundholes are in a flame shape and the waist is uneven, the other deep and more rounded. Three strings are present on the fretted neck, a large scroll pegbox can be seen, and the viol is played overhand with a short arched bow.

Corrado Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 30 (1967): 176-97.